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Global Anti-Missile System Potential Cited

LD2602141192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Text] [Announcer] The recent proposal of the Russian President Boris Yeltsin to replace the Strategic Defense Initiative with a Russian-American global defense system presents the situation in antimissile defense in a new light. At the request of Radio Moscow, Major General Vladimir (?Kukelev) has expressed his opinion of the initiative.

[(?Kukelev)] In our opinion a global antimissile defense system should promote stability, that is eliminate incentives for continuing the arms race, for a competition in armaments both defense and offensive. As we understand it the system should not be American in the sense that it would protect only American or Russian-American, that is, protecting only the territories of Russia and the United States. This should be a system protecting the territory of any member country of (?the) system from a missile attack wherever it might come from.

[Announcer] The idea of a global system is in the political declaration, but experts from the General Staff can offer general practical versions of it without any technical solutions, of course.

[(?Kukelev)] The implementation of the idea would most likely be divided into a certain number of stages. As I see it, at one of the initial stages some warning system, compatible or joint one, could be set up partly based on land, partly in space, that is sytems of (?warning and control) in space. At the next stage a force could be formed for actual defense functions.

[Announcer] The question inevitably arises what is going to happen to the Soviet-American antimissile defense treaty.

[(?Kukelev)] Evidently such a system would make the treaty outdated, however, it must not be forgotten that at present we consider it a key element of preserving strategic stability, and it will remain such an element for a long time, until the decision on a global system and until the first steps of carrying out such a decision. Being truly global in scale, the idea of (?joint) defense should be widely discussed by different states at different levels.

[Announcer] The opinion of Maj. Gen. (?Kukelev) of the legal department of the General Staff about prospects of a global antimissile defense system proposed by President Yeltsin.

Solton on Disarmament, Relations With U.S.

LD2702101692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Text] American Secretary of State Mr. James Baker, speaking to Congress in the wake of his recent talk in Moscow, has said the United States and Russia embarked on a new partnership in the security area—a view which is also shared by Moscow. Commentator Yuriy Solton writes the following:

Although bogged down in deep crisis, Russia is really keen to see there is international stability with civilized values gaining ground everywhere. It has now flung the door open to all countries, but is greatly preoccupied with building up relations with Washington because of the impact these tend to make on international security as a whole.

The two countries have already laid down the groundwork for normal contacts which are improving by the day particularly in the disarmament area. Moscow and Washington are both busy coordinating moves aimed at implementing nuclear initiatives by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin.

The two sides, who narrowed differences during Mr. Baker's visit to Moscow, are due to meet agan next month to define their final positions.

The disarmament process itself is meanwhile in progress with Russia and the United States announcing an end to the production of strategic bombers. Hundreds of strategic missiles were taken off combat duty with the remainder put on zero alert, which means they will no longer be targeted on each other's vital centers. The two countries' decision to create a worldwide ABM system must be seen as a high degree of confidence now established between Moscow and Washington.

Away from trying to portray things in brighter colours, there are quite a few people on both sides who continue to stick to the policy of muscle flexing and confrontation. The American Defense Department has come up with a number of scenarios of possible conflict with Russia—nothing short of a nuclear war—although the two countries do no longer see each other as potential adversaries. In Russia itself there is a strong mood for a reversal to imperial thinking. The former Communist daily PRAVDA now expressing the views of the hardliners, who once dreamt of seeing the world in red alone peddles out the bogey of a breakup of the country's defenses and the prospect of being conquered by the Yankees, who continue to preach a strength policy.

Such views cannot be brushed aside easily. But then the process of a new partnership which is expected to turn into a full-blown friendly relations as stated by Camp David declaration by Presidents Bush and Yeltsin is gathering pace. This in itself is having a good effect on the international environment as a whole.

Access to Nuclear Bombs 'Never So Simple'

LD2602220992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent V. Kondratyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] While the same sequence of shots, which is supposed to document the state of the CIS atomic industry, is being shown on our television, more reports are being broadcast on German TV from super-secret nuclear cantonments, from post office boxes, military units, and test sites. Either German journalists are more persistent, or there is a different reason, a financial one—I will not venture to judge from here. These reports, and the local press too, quote statements by our senior officials to the effect that, despite the slight instability that has arisen, nuclear material is not disappearing, nor will it. Nuclear weapons are created, it is said, by patriots—people who are aware of their own responsibility—but there are black sheep even among patriots. Yesterday a sensation was broadcast by the RTL Plus television station. [Video shows missile silo; scientific apparatus; people showing passes at entry to building; missile transporters near Red Square; officers entering building; TV announcer with caption "Explosiv"; Kondratyev talking to camera in street; missiles inside a building.]

For the first time, it had been possible to film and show how, within the framework of commodity exchange activities, our country has a trade in enriched uranium, the material from which bombs are made. I could show you those frightening pictures, but the French hold the rights to them, and they have asked for payment, and the correspondents' center has no money, since Gosteleradio's foreign currency funds are still blocked by Vneshekonombank.

So what's it all about? A broker was found who expressed a willingness to cooperate with RTL. With his help, in one of the Moscow suburbs, a concealed camera was installed just before a business meeting. The broker-agent risked his life, as did the film crew. Uranium was bought by a firm from Austria in order to resell it to third countries. Moreover, the partners exchanged jokes as though they were dealing with potatoes. The price went up and down: $300,000—$600,000; eventually, they agreed on $500,000. The consignment will be dispatched by container from Kaliningrad.

What about customs? People like to live well in customs too, the foreign visitor was assured. There will be no problems.

Other, similar instances are being cited here of the unpatriotic activities of our citizens. Specific names are even being mentioned. The creation of a new scientific center for nuclear scientists with Western assistance is, of course, not bad. But it would be naive and irrational to rely on it alone. Urgent measures have to be adopted. Access to the nuclear bomb was never so simple. This is the conclusion reached by German TV journalists, and, judging by their report, they are right.

Ukraine Urges CIS Equal Participation in Talks

PM2402152192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 7

[Report by Vladimir Mikheyev: "Ukraine Believes That CIS Nuclear Republics Must Participate in Disarmament Talks on Equal Terms"]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has advanced a proposal that all four republics of the former USSR on whose territory nuclear weapons are located should participate on equal terms in arms reduction talks with the United States. At the first stage, the leaders of these four republics must sit at the negotiating table with G. Bush, and at the second stage they can be joined by the leaders of other nuclear powers. The point is, according to L. Kravchuk, that Russian President Boris Yeltsin is not empowered to speak on behalf of all four—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan.

REUTER has reported from Kiev that the Ukrainian president declared the following: "Boris Yeltsin said at his meeting with President Bush that he is reducing the strategic nuclear forces. I would like to comment: You can only reduce the forces which you possess. If he was speaking of the strategic nuclear forces of the whole Commonwealth, he has not received such a mandate from us." At the same time L. Kravchuk repeated that he is a champion of nuclear disarmament, and Ukraine intends to become a nuclear-free power by 1994. On Wednesday [19 February] the Ukrainian president addressed a briefing for foreign journalists, to which, in addition to them, correspondents of the Ukrainian Information Bureau, television, and radio were invited.

According to REUTER, the discontent was sparked off by the disarmament initiative announced by B. Yeltsin during his U.S. trip. Kiev deemed it incorrect that the Russian president had not consulted Ukraine beforehand. No reaction to the Ukrainian president's statement has yet been forthcoming from Washington, but "Western states might not accept the new formula if they consider that it undermines the principle of a single joint command of the Commonwealth's nuclear forces," REUTER points out.

Another option is also possible. Under certain circumstances the United States might be favorably inclined toward the "four plus one" formula, as evidenced by the course of the hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress. Serious objections were raised during the examination of the question of ratifying the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms of the USSR and the United States, signed by G. Bush and M. Gorbachev last year. First, the ceiling proposed then of 9,000 nuclear warheads for each of the sides pales in comparison with the level now being discussed of 4,700 or 2,500 warheads. Second, in the opinion of Lieutenant General W. Odom, former head of the National Security Agency, Russia will hardly be able to afford to equip its strategic forces to such a degree. More and more voices

are being heard in favor of new talks on strategic offensive arms, this time with all the nuclear republics of the former USSR.

What makes it possible to view the prospect of the four republics' joint participation in disarmament talks as perfectly realistic even tomorrow? Yuriy Nazarkin, the Russian Foreign Ministry's ambassador for special assignments, who headed our delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, answered IZVESTIYA's question by telephone:

"A procedure for fulfilling the terms of the agreement on reducing strategic offensive arms is being worked out at the meetings of experts of the four nuclear republics held in Minsk and Moscow. We believe that the final document will be signed by the presidents. It is my opinion that, by proceeding from these accords, it will be possible in the future to model the participation of all four republics in multilateral talks. At the same time it is necessary, first, to settle questions of compliance with the agreements in principle reached in Minsk with regard to strategic arms. It is important to respect the status of the strategic forces within the framework of the Commonwealth. Otherwise it will be hard to nourish hopes of the republics' effective and concerted participation in talks with the United States."

Replying to IZVESTIYA's question about the reasons behind L. Kravchuk's statement, Vladimir Shlyaposhnikov, the Ukrainian president's press secretary, drew attention to the following:

"It must not be forgotten that the Ukrainian president has welcomed and is prepared to welcome any steps aimed at achieving nuclear disarmament. This applies to Boris Yeltsin's initiative too. At the same time we were perplexed by not having been warned in advance. Leonid Kravchuk has repeatedly expressed his firm position: All actions which affect the interests of the CIS as a whole must be concerted. The Commonwealth is still young, and a natural process of accustomation is taking place. It is gratifying that the foundations are already being laid for effective cooperation within the Commonwealth. This also applies to meetings of experts in the strategic arms sphere. If the foundations of such cooperation are laid, all will be in order."

U.S. Responds To Kravchuk's Proposal

PM2602123092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Vladimir Mikheyev: "Washington Responds Evasively to Kiev's Proposal"]

[Text] Washington has given a highly glib and evasive reply to Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk's proposal that all four nuclear republics of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] take part on equal terms in disarmament talks.

A White House spokesman stated: We are in contact with all four states—Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus—on the question of the ratification and fulfillment of the agreement on strategic offensive arms concluded between the United States and the USSR. As we examine the question of further strategic arms reductions we will continue dialogue with those four countries.

The logical conclusion is that to be "in contact" is not a very binding concept. Although if necessary this polite diplomatic formula could also cover an accord on expanding the number of direct participants in the nuclear disarmament talks. Washington nevertheless remains true to its tactics of making haste slowly. The reason for this is the high level of uncertainty both regarding the rules of communal life developing within the Commonwealth and regarding unified command of the CIS strategic armed forces and the characteristics of the four sovereign states' nuclear policy.

However, it is not only Washington which is experiencing a shortage of information on and understanding of the processes taking place within the CIS. As Ronald Lehman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has stated, at the recent talks in Moscow with Secretary of State Baker the Russian leadership sought a detailed clarification of whether G. Bush's initiative contained any hidden snags. We would recall that the U.S. President proposed the destruction of all land-based strategic missiles with MIRVed warheads and the reduction by one-third of the number of those missiles on board submarines on condition that Russia agrees to scrap all its land-based strategic missiles with multiple warheads [mnogozaryadnyy].

Moscow's concern stemmed from the obvious fact not concealed by the Americans that the bulk of Russia's strategic potential consists of land-based missiles whereas for the Americans it is sea-launched missiles. According to the figures of Robert Norris, an expert from the Council for the Protection of Natural Resources, the White House is not trying to avoid strategic parity and Bush's proposal would still leave Russia with 2,320 warheads on sea-launched missiles, the United States with 2,350.

You can go on indefinitely finding arguments against such a manifestation of the "cold war" spirit as nuclear parity. The old desire to be equal to the "potential enemy" across the whole range of weapons of mass destruction in the new conditions seems an absurd anachronism even though initially it inspired a sense of security. What is indisputable is the fact that parity had a deterrent effect. The notorious "balance of fear" created a kind of confidence. Where is that confidence to come from today?

Three burdens have been placed on the fragile and incipient partnership between Russia and the United States. First, there was the incident in the Barents Sea when a U.S. submarine entered Russian territorial

waters. Second, there have been reports on "restructuring" in the CIA—it is increasing its agent network abroad, hiring middle-ranking commercial managers (the "HUMINT in the Nineties" program), and placing them with the tacit permission of their directors in branches of transnational corporations in various parts of the world with special interest in the CIS. Third, there is the unrelenting uproar over the Pentagon's secret scenarios which in the event of war "on the Lithuanian front" envisage the blockading of the Russian fleet "in the eastern Baltic" and regard Russia itself as a "potentially serious threat to U.S. interests" until the end of the century.

It must be stated that mutual understanding on the general issues does not preclude misunderstanding on the particulars. I would like to think that this is a relapse of "cold war" thinking which does not reflect the general tendency toward trust and partnership.

U.S. Funds Considered in Dismantling Warheads

LD2602210892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to Western estimates, we will very soon have to destroy some 15,000 nuclear warheads as part of the planned arms reduction. The work is already in progress. However, in order to realize the whole program, quite a few difficult problems have to be solved. Here with the details is our commentator Mikhail Osokin.

[Osokin] [Video shows uniformed men examining and handling missiles; aircraft in flight; missile silo; U.S. installation captioned "Reporting: Roger O'Neil, Grand Forks, N.D."] The removal of nuclear warheads from military units to storage depots appears to be the most vulnerable and dangerous part of the process of dismantling such weapons. But, in fact, it is at this stage that there are the fewest problems. According to our military men, the strictest security measures are provided. A crane loads no more than a single warhead on to each vehicle, and, before a second vehicle is allowed to set out, the first must have reached its destination. The crane is only switched on after the operator has keyed in a secret code. The loading place is surrounded by three lines of soldiers, with the lines, for greater security, being subordinate to different commanders.

Well, if one, nevertheless, supposes that a warhead is stolen in transit, the troops will immediately be able to determine where to look for it. They will track the signals coming from a special transmitter installed in every warhead container. In a word, the system for delivering the warheads to the storage depots is already well worked out. The main difficulties start later, at the final stage of the dismantling of the weapons, and here we should be helped by American experience of setting up special storage facilities and by American funds. The United States is allocating $400 million, primarily to help with the building of facilities for the lengthy storage of radioactive material from dismantled warheads. During U.S. Secretary of State Baker's visit to Moscow, agreement was reached on building a depot for the storage of plutonium. [video shows Baker leaving an aircraft; U.S. Congress scenes]

Incidentally, other ideas are being voiced in the United States about what the funds from the promised assistance should be used for. For instance, U.S. officials do not rule out the possibility of simply buying some of the nuclear missiles from us. [Video shows missile being transported on a huge vehicle.] By so doing, they reckon to speed up the process of reducing our arsenals, which have been an object of constant Western concern ever since the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Comparison of Republics' Strategic Capability

CM2702175492

Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 23 February carries a one-minute item read by announcer Irina Mishina on the conclusion of a visit by NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner to Ukraine. The report also cites a BBC commentary on the visit. The report has been compared with the Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 14 February published in the 19 February Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, page 3, revealing the following variation "shown on the screen":

page 3, column two, fourth line of table, second column shows "Belarus 72 ICBMs" (in comparison to 720 as reported in the 14 February 1200 GMT newscast).

Scientists View Elimination of Nuclear Arms

LD2602121292 Moscow TASS in English 0932 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington February 26 TASS— Russian and U.S. scientists continue discussing elimination of nuclear weapons at their meeting in Washington organised by the federation of U.S. scientists, the council for protection of natural resources of the United States, the Russian Foreign Ministry and several research institutes. The participants will discuss prospects for using 400 million U.S. dollars allocated by U.S. Congress last year, including to provide technological assistance to Russia to eliminate its nuclear and other weapons, convert military laboratories for civilian uses, ensure safe storage of nuclear materials and eliminate piles of enriched plutonium and uranium. The meeting was initiated by U.S. Secretary James Baker during his recent visit to Russia.

Scientists' Future Employment Outlined

PM2602160992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 92 p 3

[Anatoliy Pokrovskiy report under the "From Authoritative Sources" rubric: "'We Are Not Asking for Handouts,' CIS Nuclear Scientists Believe"]

[Text] The decision made during the talks between Boris Yeltsin and James Baker to set up an international center to support scientists and specialists of the former USSR who were engaged in nuclear weapons production has given rise to conflicting opinions.

The official account of the decision is as follows: The center is to organize the development, selection, funding, and supervision of projects that would be implemented primarily in institutes and institutions located in Russia and other interested CIS states. The United States will take steps to provide $25 million to set up the center and finance its projects. Germany is guaranteeing support for this initiative by the EC and its member countries.

We asked Professor Viktor Mikhaylov, deputy minister of atomic power engineering and industry in charge of nuclear weapons questions, to comment on this report:

"In order to prevent any misinterpretations, I will say right away that we are not asking for any handouts. It is a matter of partners working together on new technologies. We have many fine brains and we have accomplished a significant body of scientific work. Russia does not have the resources to finance all the ideas, so we need investment. We also need good publicity and the participation of private firms.

"Ye.N. Avrorin, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and scientific chief at the all-Union Scientific Research Institute of Technical Physics, and I described to J. Baker possible areas for collaboration during our meeting in Chelyabinsk-70. What we are talking about is new developments in the medical sphere, relating to eye surgery in particular, the creation of special beds for burns patients, and so on. Topics were outlined involving the development of communications and the use of explosions in a number of technological processes, including obtaining artificial diamonds.

"In the sphere of basic research, scientific cooperation could focus on high-density energy physics, inertial [inertsionnyy] thermonuclear fusion, nuclear power industry safety, algorithms for simulation programs, and so on.

"Of course, nuclear weapons are causing special concern. Both Russia and the United States are significantly reducing their nuclear arsenals and we need to make a joint effort to ensure that weapons do not proliferate worldwide. There is scope for utilizing the two countries' experience in the safe storage and transportation of nuclear weapons.

"In short, the outlined program is pretty extensive and multifaceted. And that is very important—we are expecting the new center to help get our achievements into prodcution. In this connection, I would like to point out that already one nuclear complex employee in three is working in consumer goods production. The task is to have two-thirds of our personnel doing this in the very near future. Such is the rate of conversion in the sector. While all this is going on it is very important not to lose our top-class specialists and to prevent the dreaded brain drain. The center has a major role to play in this respect.

"The plan is to locate it in Troitsk, near Moscow, with branches in Arzamas and Chelyabinsk. The center's scientific council will draw up the final research programs on the basis of proposals from Russian, U.S., and German scientists."

Finns To Promote Safety at Sosnovyy Bor AES

PM2602112692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Report by Ye. Sorokin, from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Sorokin] The Finnish Government intends to allocate 6.5 million markkas, i.e. $1.2 million, for measures to improve the safety of the Sosnovyy Bor nuclear power station which is located 70 km from St. Petersburg.

A group of Finnish experts visited the station recently. A number of serious omissions were detected in the Sosnovyy Bor nuclear power station backup system. Earlier, Swedish experts had recommended that two veteran Sosnovyy Bor reactors be shut down due to their age which makes them potentially accident-prone. The Finns did not go as far in their assessments, noting that there is an acute need for cheap electricity, especially in major Russian cities, including St. Petersburg. Meanwhile the Finnish power engineering company Imatran Voima has been instructed to draw up blueprints for the construction of a new nuclear power station in the Kola peninsula, in northwest Russia. It is a question of a 1,000 MW station which will meet more rigorous safety regulations. The cost of the proposed contract is estimated at approximately 20 million markkas. Russia will pay for the design and construction of the nuclear power station by supplying electricity.

Plutonium Plant Begins Conversion Process

LD2502054292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2034 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Sorokin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The production of television parts has begun at one of our largest plants for producing plutonium for nuclear bombs. The K-26 underground factory, near

Krasnoyarsk, is so secret that that small town—with a population of 100,000—cannot be found on any map. The main structure comprises three reactors which manufacture plutonium for 1,000 bombs; however, now, under the conditions of arms cuts, the factory has been obliged to turn its attention to transferring its industry along peaceful lines.

Rumors of Low Price Uranium Sales 'Refuted'

LD2202220192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Feb 92

[Text] The Priargunskiy mining combine, which extracts 40 percent of Russia's uranium, has turned out to be at the center of attention of the Western mass media in connection with the accusations bevelled at the Russian Federation and other CIS republics with regard to trading in uranium raw materials at dumping prices. Pokrovskiy, the combine's director refuted these accusations, citing the opinions of many U.S. specialists.

At the present time a trip for U.S. experts has been organized to Navoi, Angarsk and Bishkek so that they can convince themselves on the spot of the unfounded nature of the accusations made.

In a few days time the director of the Preargunskiy combine is to fly to Moscow to finally agree the text of an agreement on trading with uranium raw materials, the ANI [expansion unknown] agency reports.

[Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1500 GMT on 21 February adds the following: "A uranium mine in Kazakhstan, near Lake Balkhash, has completely stopped work because of the lack of demand for its output from the CIS countries."]

Leaders in Helsinki To Sign CSCE Final Act

Shushkevich Gives Briefing

LD2502211892 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 25 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Helsinki 25 February TASS—Chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich arrived here today at the invitation of the Finnish government to participate together with heads of some other CIS member-states in ceremonious signing of the CSCE Final Act.

The ceremony to take place on Wednesday [26 February] at the Finland Palace will signify the states' admission to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as full-fledged members.

Shushkevich is also expected to meet Finnish President Mauno Koivisto and visit the national parliament.

Belarus estimates the upcoming signing of the CSCE Final Act as the triumph of justice as regards the Belarussian people and state, Shushkevich said upon his arrival in Helsinki.

At a news conference at the airport he said many in the world still do not know about the existence of such state as the Belarus Republic in the center of Europe. The Belarussian statehood is very old, however this fact was kept silent about for at least 200 years, said the Supreme Soviet chairman [sentence as received].

Shushkevich decisively refuted the report of some mass media that Belarus allegedly lays territorial claims on Lithuania. The upcoming signing of the CSCE Final Act is a vivid evidence we have no territorial claims on the neighbouring states, said Shushkevich.

The Republic of Belarus has the right to create its own armed forces, he stressed. Still the fulfillment of this right is not a primitive or quick process.

Belarus intends to remove strategic nuclear arms from its territory and become a neutral European state, that is not to join any military unions, as quickly as possible. But it cannot do it quickly since it will take lots of money.

Tactical nuclear arms will be completely withdrawn from Belarus by July 1, 1992, and strategic nuclear arms will be removed within two or three years if economic resources allow the republic to do it. Belarus will work to achieve tnis goal, said Shushkevich.

Kravchuk Arrives, Comments

LD2602161192 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhniy]

[Text] Helsinki February 26 TASS—President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine arrived in Helsinki today at the invitation of the Finnish Government to take part in the ceremony of signing the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Kravchuk is expected to meet President Mauno Koivisto and visit the Finnish parliament.

Kravchuk was welcomed to Finland at Vanta Airport by Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen and the Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Finland Boris Aristov.

"That Ukraine is now joining the Helsinki process is a step of major importance to us," Kravchuk told reporters at the airport. The move confirms our political strategy—our policy in the field of protection of the rights of national minorities and peace is fully in accord with international standards laid down in the Helsinki Final Act," Kravchuk stressed.

Responding to questions about the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States in connection with the situation in Russia, Kravchuk said that instability in any of the Commonwealth member-states tells adversely on the situation in the Commonwealth as a whole. Russia, however, is the leading power in the Commonwealth on the strength of its size and might, and instability in Russia affects the situation in the CIS most of all. Ukraine sees its duty in strict adherence to its obligations under the 1990 treaty, which can contribute to stabilization in Russia.

Kravchuk stressed that differences between Russia and Ukraine can and must be settled at the negotiating table. "I was impressed by President Boris Yeltsin's statement on Tuesday [25 February] that the Russian parliament had acted hastily and without due consideration with regard to the Crimea problem. This statement was encouraging," he said.

Five States Sign Final Act

LD2602131392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1233 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Excerpts] Helsinki, 26 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Five new signatures appeared today beneath the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the text of which has been kept by the Finnish Government since 1975. This historical document has been signed by the top state leaders of Belarus, Moldova, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. [passage omitted]

For various reasons not all the CIS presidents were able to come to Helsinki to take part in the signing ceremony. The leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan will sign the Helsinki document later. [passage omitted]

CSCE Commitment Affirmed

LD2602201192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1727 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] [no dateline as received] S. Shushkevich stressed that the Republic of Belarus reaffirms its commitment to the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the final document of the Vienna CSCE summit meeting, the Paris Charter for a New Europe, and all the other CSCE documents. We view the accession by Belarus to the pan-European process as a vital stage in our return to the family of European peoples; it became possible only after the long-suffering people of Belarus achieved political and economic freedom.

Regarding the republic's foreign policy, S. Shushkevich confirmed that Belarus aspires to be a neutral state and to turn its territory into a nuclear-free zone. We, he said, will strive to create in the center of Europe a nuclear-free belt encompassing the northern European countries, the Baltic, and the states of eastern and central Europe.

We link our desire for integration into the pan-European space to the development of the Commonwealth of Independent States. However events might proceed, the CIS will for the near future remain one of our realities of life and will have to be taken into account as the common European home is constructed. We visualize its construction as the gradual convergence and fusion of the two principal economic structures: the EEC and the economies of the countries of East Europe.

In the words of M. Snegur, for a relatively small state such as Moldova, accession to the CSCE signifies not only support for that state's independence but also an enormous responsibility. We undertake to scrupulously adhere to the principles of the final act and promise to implement them as we create our state.

It is essential to note, M. Snegur continued, that our efforts to establish a democratic and free state remain, unfortunately, mostly futile due to the presence on our territory of foreign troops. Certain conservative political elements, motivated by imperialist arrogance, wish to use their presence to destabilize the situation in the republic. Therefore Moldova advocates the earliest solution to this problem through negotiations, in keeping with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

We are entering a Europe of completely new geopolitical architecture. We should be open to international cooperation and integration into European structures, the president of Moldova declared.

Commitment to the Helsinki principles should be proven by one's deeds—this was underlined in the speech of R. Nabiyev. By participating in the Helsinki process, we are guided toward recognition of the many sided nature of the pan-European concept of security and stability, which are insured both with the aid of military-political accords and by way of strict adherence to human rights, economical and ecological commitments. We recognize the need to remove the main causes of tension of an ethnic hue, and consider it necessary to consolidate the potential of the CSCE to resolve the problems of national minorities.

The president of Tajikistan noted: We are firmly in favor of granting new powers and new procedural and legal possibilities to the Helsinki process. We regard the proposed formula of "consensus minus one" as an essential move and recognize its positive character for the entire process.

President of Uzbekistan I. Karimov confirmed the will and desire of his country to accede to the pan-European process. We recognize and share the human values carefully cultivated in Europe. Among them are guaranteed human rights and liberties, protection for national minorities, and creation of worthy conditions for the life of each citizen irrespective of nationality, religious convictions, social status or origin.

The members of the more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups living in Uzbekistan need not worry over the fate of the present and future generations, I. Karimov said. The Uzbekistan of the present and the near and more distant future rests upon rejection of the diktat of any one ideology, the transition to a market economy, freedom of enterprise, equality of all forms of ownership, protection for the more vulnerable groups within society, respect for historical and cultural traditions and for language and culture, and openness toward the international community.

Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk expressed his satisfaction that the Ukraine now acts on the world stage as a European state recognized by all, as a full and equal member of the European and world communities.

The noble ideals of the Helsinki Final Act have played, and will continue to play, an exceptionally important role in the transformation of Europe. This role becomes still more important at a time when the family of CSCE members is being joined by a large group of states. Today we witness the CSCE being transformed into a truly continental body, whose scope stretches from Vancouver to Vladivostok and Tashkent.

Ukraine, its president continued, proclaims its aspiration to be nuclear-free, outside all blocs and, in the future, a neutral state.

In the opinion of L Kravchuk, it is now essential to provide the maximum degree of support for Europe's nascent democratic states in order to safeguard the peaceful nature of this process. This is particularly important because, unfortunately, acute conflicts are arising in various regions; there are flare-ups of instability and sometimes even dangerous appeals for the review of existing state borders. In such conditions we attach special significance to strengthening the stabilizing influence of the CSCE, the president of Ukraine stressed.

CIS General Staff Holds Talks in Beijing

LD2602150192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sorokin]

[Text] Beijing, 26 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Talks took place this afternoon between the chiefs of General Staff of the CIS Unified Armed Forces and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, during which various aspects of the international situation were discussed. V. N. Samsonov and Chi Haotian briefed one another on the development of the political and economic situations in their countries. Particular attention was devoted to issues of military organizational development in current conditions, especially in the Armed Forces of the CIS.

The sides examined the problem of reduction of strategic nuclear forces and tactical nuclear weapons, armed forces, and armaments in the world. An exchange of opinions took place on measures that could be implemented within the context of the disarmament processes on the border of China and the CIS, and on the ways to further improve confidence-building measures between them.

The negotiations, as appraised by the participants, were distinguished by a warm and friendly atmosphere. The Chinese side declared the great importance it accords to the fact that Colonel General V.N. Samsonov is making China his first foreign trip in the post of chief of General Staff of the CIS Unified Armed Forces. Mutual commitment was expressed to continuing and developing exchanges and cooperation along military lines between the CIS Unified Armed Forces and the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Col.Gen. Samsonov laid a wreath at the Memorial to the People's Heroes today.

Shaposhnikov Meets U.S. Armed Forces Experts

PM2602114792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] On 21 February Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, received a U.S. Armed Forces group of experts headed by P. Wolfowitz, U.S. under secretary of defense, which is in Moscow. They discussed a wide range of problems associated with developing and extending comprehensive mutual contacts between the CIS and U.S. Armed Forces, and other topical questions of mutual interest.

Colonel General P. Grachev, first deputy commander in chief of the CIS joint Armed Forces, and Army General K. Kobets, Russian Federation state counselor for defense, took part in the meeting.

The conversation took place in a spirit of frankness, trust, and mutual understanding.

Views Expressed on Fourth 'Open Skies' Talks

MK2602140092 Moscow MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS in Russian No 9, 26 Feb 92 p 13

["Excerpts" from report by Yuriy Golotyuk: Spies Will Visit Us]

[Text] The fourth round of talks on "open skies" currently is going on in Vienna. Naturally, there is no Soviet delegation at the talks as there is no longer a USSR. The Russian Federation delegation is working in Vienna, headed by Yevgeniy Golovko, offical representative of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Representatives of Belarus and Ukraine also are attending. The experts unanimously note the constructive nature of the current positions of the participants. According to preliminary evaluations, the draft of the "open skies" policy is already 70 percent complete. So there is every reason to expect that by the time of the Helsinki summit meeting being planned for the second half of March, work on the agreement will have been completed.

Then what is it that we have been unable to agree upon with our "potential enemy" over the course of these two years?

"Among the conditions unacceptable to us was, for example, the proposal by NATO countries to equip observation aircraft with dozens of different types of equipment", explains Colonel Podchernyayev. "The Soviet delegation proved that this was simply spying equipment. In the final analysis, it was agreed that during the first two years of the agreement's implementation, only aerial photo equipment and video cameras will be placed onboard reconnaissance aircraft. Subsequently, sideways-looking radar stations and infrared equipment will be added.

The desire of NATO countries to make more than 100 reconnaissance flights a year over our country did not suit us. The Soviet delegation had aimed for 20. In the end, apparently, we reached a compromise decision: 40 flights per year. The fact that the United States and its allies did not guarantee us the opportunity to overfly their military bases located in states not participating in the talks—say, in Japan—provoked the most serious disagreements. As peculiar "compensation," the Soviet side proposed closing a number of regions of the USSR to reconaissance flights. Implied, of course, were air fields, ranges, and military production of the highest level of secrecy. It is on this very point that the talks almost stalled.

Finally, however, it was agreed that the Soviet Union would open all of its territory to reconnaissance flights and NATO members would give us information on their military activities at bases located in third countries.

True, with the collapse of the Union the situation has become complicated. Russia, "inheriting" the talks on "open skies" from the USSR, now can guarantee the openess of only its own Russian skies. The question of who will sign the document in Helsinki also remains undecided. It has not been ruled out that all the presidents of the sovereign states will sign, but as yet this is only a proposal.

So what do "open skies" bode for us? Not only an entrance to a completely new level of interaction with the West, but also a definite savings of the materials earmarked by the state for intelligence. "Reconnaissance from an aircraft is much more efficient and many times cheaper than information gotten by us from space satellites", declares Colonel Podchernyayev.

At the same time, in the event the agreement on "open skies" is signed, Russian industry can count on very longterm cooperation with the West in the area of creating reconnaissance aircraft. Now, all the participating countries are examining the possibility of using our IL-76 transport plane for this purpose—true, having put on them French engines and some equipment from England—and the approximate price of one IL-76 is around 30-40 million dollars. So it is not ruled out that "open skies" will gain us political as well as financial capital.

Europeans Agree To Help States Join IMF

LD2602122392 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo February 26 TASS—West European countries have agreed to lend money to CIS member states, which are desperately short of hard currency, so that they will be able to make an entrance fee to the International Monetary Fund. YOMIURI reported today with reference to the international financial sources that this paves the way for Russia and other former Union republics to be officially admitted to the IMF no later than next June.

The agreement in principle of Western powers on the CIS members joining the IMF will be reiterated at the meeting of deputy ministers of finance of the G-7 countries, due to open in Frankfurt on February 28, the press reports. Thus, the IMF may play an important role in rendering assistance to the former USSR, the economy of which is in a critical condition. According to NIHON KEIZAI, this will be one of the main topics for discussion at meetings of Japanese leaders with IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus, who arrives in Tokyo on March 8.

In order to join the IMF, Russia is expected to make a payment, which will be at least no smaller than the sum paid by Italy, i.e. four billion dollars. 75 percent of the sum may be paid in rubles, but the remaining part should be paid in dollars, marks, yen or any other hard currency. However, in the current situation it is difficult for Russia to pay even one billion dollars, which became an obstacle for its joining the IMF. This is why, according to YOMIURI, one billion dollars will be paid for Russia by the West European countries, and Russia will return the money as soon as it joins the IMF and receives a loan from it.

Baker Interest in Central Asia Reviewed

924C0688A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, 19 Feb 92 p 9

[Article by Vladimir Batyuk: "The Fundamentalists Awoke Baker, And He Launched a Powerful Diplomatic Offensive"]

[Text] **U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, once again astounding both experienced diplomats and ordinary folks with his energy, businesslike attitude, and physical endurance, in little more than a week visited Chisinau, Yerevan, Baku, Ashkhabad, Dushanbe, Tashkent, Moscow, and the formerly top secret city Chelyabinsk-70.**

For quite understandable reasons, the attention of political commentators and the mass media concentrated on the Central Asian part of Baker's tour: While Moldova, Armenia, and Azerbaijan are no longer novices in the international political arena, such states as Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan are only beginning to open themselves to the world.

The interests of both neighboring and more remote states may be seriously afflicted if the Central Asian region, which possesses considerable economic and human potential, ends up gripped by chaos or if power there is taken by extremist, totalitarian, aggressive regimes. Actually, Baker did not try to hide the fact that one of the reasons for the sudden change in the original itinerary of his current visit to the CIS and for including the Central Asian states in it was the rapidly increasing diplomatic activity in these states by Iran—a country viewed by Washington as the citadel of anti-Western fundamentalism.

The activism of American diplomacy in the Central Asian region, which has traditionally been viewed as a sphere of Russia's special interests, may cause feelings of jealousy and fear among many people in our country; some may perhaps see in this activity an attempt to squeeze Russia out of Central Asia, to create an "American beachhead" on the southern borders of the Russian state, and so on. These fears are hardly justified.

First, a strengthening of the sovereignty of the Central Asian states and their entry into the international arena are objective and inevitable facts. Moreover, the wider and more diverse these relations are, the more stable the situation in the region will be, and the greater the likelihood of introducing a market economy and political democracy into the Central Asian states. Such a stable, predictable, and open to the outside world Central Asia will be the best possible southern neighbor for the new, democratic Russia.

Second, although the United States is an influential member of the international community, this influence is not boundless. The time of unchallenged American economic and scientific-technological superiority is over. America is no longer the leader of the Western countries; it is more of a "first among equals," or, in some instances, an "equal among the first." That is why, both in the matter of economic aid to the CIS member countries and the matter of "discovering" Central Asia, Washington has to increasingly rely not only on its traditional partners such as West Europe and Japan but also on new industrial countries such as Turkey and Egypt.

Third, now more than ever Washington needs good relations with Moscow. The main reason for the weakened American influence on the international arena is the burden of the arms race America took upon itself during the time of the "cold war." The United States can shed this burden without endangering international stability only within the framework of cooperation with Russia. That is why the concluding part of Baker's visit to the CIS, in Moscow, during which new Soviet and American initiatives in the area of strategic arms reduction were discussed, was of special importance for Washington.

Netherlands' Lubbers on CIS, EC Future

924C0688B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 7, Feb 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Editor in Chief V. Starkov; place and date not given: "Democracy Can Do Everything"]

[Text]*Ruud Lubbers is known around the world not only as the prime minister of the Netherlands, continuously (since 1982) heading the government of that country, but also as an erudite and farsighted politician. Until recently, Lubbers was also chairman of the EC. This and other matters were the topic of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Editor in Chief Starkov's conversation with R. Lubbers.*

[Starkov] You were the first among the Western leaders who said a resolute "no" to the August putsch in Moscow. This was a great boost to us.

[Lubbers] The value of democracy lies in its ability to give a way out of any situation and reach a compromise on any issue. Sometimes the value of democracy lies in that it makes it possible to say a resolute "no."

[Starkov] But Bush also knew what the coup could lead to, although he displayed a great deal of caution during the first hours. Was it an act of political courage on your part?

[Lubbers] For me, everything was absolutely clear in this matter.

[Starkov] A hypothetical question. If tomorrow you were appointed a chairman in the CIS, how would you approach this job? Where would you start: politics, the economy, or both together? Or would you refuse it out of hand as an absolutely hopeless undertaking?

[Lubbers] Of course I would refuse. Not because it is hopeless, but because anyone from outside would be useless in this endeavor. Although I am interested in Russia and the other republics, I do not consider myself a great specialist in this area. Speaking, however, of the three different roads of transformation in Russia—political, economic, or political-economic—my choice is unequivocal: of course, all-embracing change.

[Starkov] The EC is moving from being a Community to becoming a Union; while the former Soviet Union has moved from being a Union to being a Community. Tell us, what reasons have compelled you to live in the Community—psychological, political, or economic?

[Lubbers] The EEC came into existence after World War II with the aim of preventing new wars on the continent. At subsequent stages the concept of the common market emerged, that is, a single economic space whose goal is to increase the effectiveness of production. Then we approached the important problem of the free movement of all citizens throughout the territory of the Community. In all of this, one does have to understand that Europe is a community of developed countries with stable economies. They are united by a long-lived tradition of a variety of political parties and a clear delineation of functions between government and society. At the same time, the countries are each trying to maintain their individual national character. Thus, in Europe you can see a diversity of positions among the countries on the continent: some strive only for well-being; others go beyond this, having wider interests; still others try to influence politics through the market. In other words, the process of unification is somewhat torturous. The agreement on cooperation that was signed in Maastricht gives grounds for optimism, especially the part that deals with the principles of socialization. These principles mean that all decisions the Community adopts express the interests of every citizen. This provides a counterbalance to centralization. Besides, we believe in the social character of a market economy.

[Starkov] What was the most difficult problem you had to deal with in your job as EC chairman?

[Lubbers] There were many difficult moments. Sometimes I was able to successfully overcome them, sometimes not. As an example of the successful resolution of a problem I can mention the signing of the European Treaty on the Expansion of the Economic Space. It deals with expanding the boundaries of the EC to include the Scandinavian countries and Austria.

As an example of failure I can name the negotiations within the framework of the Uruguay round of GATT. Unfortunately, in that instance we were unable to reach an agreement.

I want to emphasize that working in the EC is not particularly difficult, thanks to the atmosphere of collegiality that exists there.

[Starkov] When leaving the post of the EC chairman, did you feel a dissipation of inner tension, or did you take it calmly?

[Lubbers] Of course, it was a great relief. I finally had the opportunity to spend more time resolving the Netherlands' problems. I believe that the greatest contribution of a European country to strengthening the Community is a stable situation in that country.

[Starkov] You met Gorbachev many times. Will you have an opportunity to meet Yeltsin?

[Lubbers] I have no plans in this respect. Yeltsin is very busy right now but I hope he will visit us. Some time ago I read his biography with great interest.

[Starkov] Do you feel the same feeling of love and euphoria toward Gorbachev as do the leaders of other countries?

[Lubbers] In many respects. After all, the end of the "cold war" is unquestionably his accomplishment. We trusted him. Gorbachev was the man who always believed in the indisputable value of each individual, in his creative origin.

At the same time, I see a certain historic logic in him leaving the post of president. He had to suffer through the last days of the Soviet Union, which would have come sooner or later. So when I am asked whether I consider it a drama for Gorbachev, I say it is not. The man took the process to the end and left the scene making room for others.

They say in Holland that although perhaps there is such a thing as peaceful revolution, in the end they still devour their children.

[Starkov] You are well informed about everything, including the CIS. Where do you get your information?

[Lubbers] First about the CIS. I believe that what has happened is completely logical. Countries that for a long time have been under the oppression of a totalitarian regime wanted to get a feel of their independence and individuality. The creation of the CIS was not a surprise to me.

Speaking of my sources of information, they are first and foremost the press, radio, television, reports from various embassies, and also my colleagues. For instance, I was recently in Finland. On the basis of these meetings I can put together for myself a complete picture of what is happening in that country. Before that I met with Baker, and so on. Meeting people is the best source of information.

[Starkov] Some time ago Austria's Chancellor Vranitzky said in our conversation with him that there is a secret "red corner" in his soul which he does not share with anybody. It is his personal life, which gives the spirit and living force to his entire work. What helps you?

[Lubbers] In my public life I am helped by patience, and by knowledge of other people and their culture. This is also my hobby. I would talk with you about it with great pleasure, but I will tell you a story instead. This was at the time when the Soviet Union remained a closed land for us. In my spare time, I play field hockey. Once in the Hague I was invited to be the presenter of a trophy to the winner of the women's tournament in field hockey. The team from Moscow and the Dutch team from the Hague were playing in the finals. I missed the beginning of the game, so when I came in I had to ask which team was the Russian one, and which one the Dutch? For me, it was an important discovery. Because when we play against the Italians or Spaniards, you can see the difference instantly. But Russian and Dutch girls look very much alike!

U.S. Recognizes Four More Former Republics

PM2502145592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 92 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report under the general heading "Commonwealth States Expand Ties With Outside World"]

[Text] Washington, 20 Feb—The White House has announced its decision to establish diplomatic relations with four more former Soviet republics—Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. A White House statement notes that it is proposed to open U.S. embassies in these CIS member states by 15 March.

The administration's decision to establish diplomatic relations with Moldova was announced earlier in the day, following a meeting between President George Bush and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur. Thus, Georgia is the only country with which Washington has not established diplomatic relations.

'Operation Provide Hope' Closing Ceremony

LD2602235492 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev and Aleksander Semenov]

[Text] Frankfurt February 26 TASS—A two-week "Operation Provide Hope" was closed in a ceremony today at U.S. largest Air Force base Rhein Main in Germany. [sentence as received]

American aircraft Galaxy and Starlifter and Aeroflot aircraft and military planes of the Commonwealth were used to deliver American food, medical supplies and other humanitarian aid to the republics of the former Soviet Union.

As the operation was officially closed, two Ruslan jumbo jets left for Moscow and St. Petersburg with 265 tonnes of foodstuffs, medicine, and baby food. Since February, 10 American and Soviet planes airlifted a total of 10,000

tonnes of cargo for hospitals, foster homes and rest homes in 24 cities of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Russian Minister for Social Protection Ella Pamfilova thanked at the ceremony all those who took part in the airlifts of humanitarian aid.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Bonn told journalists that the United States would continue aid to the Commonwealth. It is planned that another 15,000 tonnes of foodstuffs and medical supplies will be delivered from U.S. Army depots in Europe by sea ships and military trucks.

Commonwealth

Conference of Supreme Soviet Chairmen Viewed

Held in Moscow 27 Feb

LD2602212392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Excerpts] A conference of the Supreme Soviet chairmen of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States will be held in Moscow on 27 February. Here is our parliamentary correspondent Nikolay Artemyev with the details.

[Artemyev] [passage omitted] I asked Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, about the conference plans.

[Begin Filatov recording] First, to endorse the documents adopted in Minsk. There were two agreements, the first on cooperation and the second on a council of heads of parliament, of the Supreme Soviets. At a working meeting yesterday, Ukraine did not support the agreement on the council of heads of parliament. It submitted an alternative, which basically is that we do not need a council or any such body, but just a consultative conference of chairmen. And nothing more than that. Then, unexpectedly, everyone supported the idea of an interparliamentary assembly. That was a real surprise, because in Minsk everyone had been fairly against it. Now a draft agreement on this is ready more or less. There also were some other agreements: on setting up interparliamentary commissions on issues within the overall terms of reference of all the states, such as human rights and economics; a second agreement, which is being prepared, on convergence of legislation on economic matters, on information exchange, and on the establishment of an information and reference center, I believe. In addition, an agreement on protection of civil and pension rights.

There is a very big document, a convention, on how states should interact in the legal sphere. And now another document is being prepared—it has not been circulated yet, but we did look at it in Minsk—a kind of provisional joint program on fighting organized crime.[end recording]

Ukraine's 'Negative Attitude' Viewed

LD2602211392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1957 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow. The first deputy chairman of RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov: The council of chairpersons of the Supreme Soviets of the CIS member-states is unlikely to be created. Sergey Filatov stated to [POSTFACTUM] that a stand taken by Ukraine's representatives was an obstacle to it. According to Filatov, the members of the working group of Ukraine's parliament accounted for their negative attitude to this idea by alleging that the two councils: those of the heads of states and heads of governments were sufficient to coordinate the actions of the CIS member-states.

On February 27 the creation of an inter-parliamentary association was likely to take place at the meeting of the chairpersons of the Supreme Soviets of the CIS member-states. According to Filatov, on February 25 most of the members of the working groups of the states who were meeting in the Octyabryaskaya Hotel went on record as being in favor of creating such a consultative body, although at the meeting of the first deputy chairpersons of Supreme Soviets in Minsk on February 24 that idea failed to win their support.

It is expected that the meeting of the chairpersons of the Supreme Soviets will result in the signing of a series of agreements, including those: on bringing closer the positions on the issues of the economic reform on an arbitration tribunal, on citizenship and pensions on inter-parliamentary committees, etc.

Khasbulatov's Introductory Remarks

LD2702094692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Artemyev on opening of conference of Supreme Soviet chairmen of CIS member states in Moscow]

[Text] Delegations of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine gathered in the Presidential Hotel—the former Oktyabrskaya Hotel built in the 1980s for the CPSU's highest officials. These delegations are headed by the chairmen and deputy chairmen of parliaments. Only Moldova's delegation is present as an observer, since the republic has not yet ratified the CIS agreement. Unfortunately, Uzbekistan is not taking part in the conference's work. The reasons for its refusal are not yet known to the press.

Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov opened the Conference of the Heads of Parliaments, the first such conference in the history of the CIS, and emphasized that it was not an attempt to restore any sort of center. The main task is to underpin with a public and political foundation the agreements and treaties being concluded by those who are in charge of the executive authority in our countries. Irrespective of the decisions we shall arrive at, we agree that such meetings of the heads of parliaments ought to be regular, said the head of the Russian parliament. Following Ruslan Khasbulatov's introductory remarks, heads of other delegations took the floor. They agreed, on the whole, to the agenda as submitted.

It is, in particular, planned to discuss the agreement on an interparliamentary assembly for the CIS member states; that is to say, to create a Europarliament of sorts. This draft was submitted by the Russian Federation and

by the republics of Tajikistan, Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan. The agenda also includes an agreement on interparliamentary cooperation in the legal sphere, on interparliamentary commissions, on the guarantees for the citizens' housing and pension rights, and a number of other issues. It has to be said that the conference began its work without disagreements. Everyone, on the whole, voiced similar views. Only the Ukrainian delegation proposed that some issues be discussed on the level of the executive authority. The conference will work all day.

Number of Documents Approved

LD2702114292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Excerpts] [Passage indistinct] Yes, I would like to tell you how this conference is going today. [passage omitted]

A number of documents have already been signed or rather approved. First, there is an agreement on interparliamentary cooperation in the legal sphere. It stipulates that in respecting the rights of all peoples to choose their own path, and striving to bring together legislation in the field of common interests, the sides agreed to exchange plans on the preparation of draft laws and laws which have already been adopted, and to hold consultative meetings in order to elaborate common directions of law-making activity. To implement this agreement, the sides could create interparliamentary institutions. Curiously, or extremely characteristically, the agreement has been concluded for an indefinite period so that each side may withdraw from it, and on the other hand, parliaments of states which are not members of the CIS may join it.

An agreement which is a compromise variant between two drafts was also approved. One was presented by Russia and the other by Ukraine—on consultative conferences of Supreme Soviet chairmen of the CIS states. The longest discussion was on the question of an interparliamentary assembly of the CIS; the delegation from Kazakhstan was insisting on its being set up. This idea was supported by Russia, Belarus, and a number of other republics. Armenia, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan, however, took a more cautious position: they proposed first to discuss this in their own parliaments and then, depending on the attitude of their Supreme Soviets, to tackle this question. [passage omitted]

Ukrainian, Moldovan Reactions to Kiev Talks

OW2702050192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1913 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the 27 February "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on the results of the inter-state consultative meeting held in Kiev on 25 February, (for more information see IBR [INTERFAX Business Report] 38 from 26.02) on problems concerning the foreign debt of the USSR, Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Ties for Ukraine Boris Sobolev, stated that Ukraine "awaited the arrival of the Russian delegation right up until the last moment." The delegation would have been headed by First Vice Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis or Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar. However, at the last minute, the Russian government decided not to participate in the Kiev meeting.

According to Mr. Sobolev, in order to solve problems concerning servicing and paying off the foreign debt of the former USSR, it is essential that the present Charter of the Inter-State Council to observe Soviet debts be changed. "The present Charter," he stated, "was adopted by the Council itself, which from a legal point of view is nonsense." For this reason, Ukraine has hardly participated in any Council meetings since December 1991. The new charter should be approved by the heads of governments or empowered representatives of the governments which signed the treaty on the Soviet foreign debt in December 1991.

With regard to Vneshekonombank [VEB] USSR, according to Mr. Sobolev, he now foresees a "common stock" in which the currency reserves of all the republics are located. "It is necessary to clearly define," the Ukrainian deputy minister stated, "how much each republic has in the VEB USSR, and how much has been spent."

In remarking on payments to service the Soviet foreign debt, which Russia has done for the past two months, the representative from the Ukrainian government emphasized that the total amount paid to service the debt was "not great" in comparison with the VEB's total internal debts to former Soviet enterprises. The internal debt exceeds $5 billion.

The amounts Russia has paid in January and February 1992 to service the foreign debt of the USSR total about $270 million.

According to Mr. Sobolev, however, Russia's refusal to participate in the Kiev meeting does not mean there is an "insurmountable disagreement" between Russia and the other republics. In his opinion, Russia and the other republics of the former USSR, including Ukraine, "will be able to find a common language."

*** In an interview with INTERFAX, Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi confirmed the Moldovan government's support for the provisions of the Kiev communique. He laid particular emphasis on demands to create a bank under the jurisdiction of the Central Bank of Russia to which republics could make payments on their share of the former USSR's external debt. Mr. Muravschi said that the bank should be registered with the National Bank of the Republic of Belarus.

Valeriu Muravschi stressed that if the communique's provisions are not met, the government of Moldova

retains the right to consider transferring its share of the Soviet Union's debts and assets to another country of the former USSR.

*** "INTERFAX" has not yet learned the Russian government's official reaction to the Kiev meeting.

Further on Meeting

PM2702122492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Fourteen Republics of Former Union Discuss Foreign Debt Problem. Russian Delegation Did Not Come to Kiev"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine's recent request to the United Nations for help in settling the dispute over the division of the former USSR's foreign economic debt had its continuation in Kiev, where a meeting of plenipotentiary representatives of states that formerly belonged to the Union was held 25 February.

At first it looked as if the meeting would end in failure. The Russian delegation did not come, Georgia's representatives were late, and there were no authorized representatives from the creditors or from the IMF and the World Bank. The status of the meeting had to be changed on the spot—it was renamed from international conference to interstate consultative conference.

But after the signing of the joint communique it became apparent that the organizational "hitches" had had no effect on the seriousness of the decisions adopted. Seven of the most pressing questions were examined. Most time was taken up by a discussion of the problem of how to pay off the foreign creditors. Let me remind you that as of today there is no single opinion among the former republics of the Union on this question. Some want to settle up autonomously, others on the basis of the principle of joint and several liability, meaning that everyone will have to fork out on behalf of whoever does not pay up. Ukraine has a special position—it wants to settle its own debts separately from everyone else.

Journalists were not allowed into the hall of sessions during the discussion of this question. But they were allowed to listen to the speech by Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin, who, on behalf of his government, appealed to all the republics of the former Union to sign the well-known memorandum on the payment of debts to foreign banks. An unusual mechanism for extinguishing the debt was proposed. Its essence is that two states—for instance, Ukraine and Russia—would act, it was said, as guarantors in this matter. Ukraine would here take on a commitment to cover the debt of those republics that have not yet signed the memorandum on joint and several accountability. The roles are distributed thus: Russia, theoretically, will guarantee payment of 80 percent of the total debt, and Ukraine will guarantee 20 percent. Each of the guarantors will settle up with the creditors separately, through the banks stipulated earlier. This approach, V. Fokin said, will spare foreign creditors the need to "go cap in hand around a circle of debtor republics," while the newly formed states that have assumed collective responsibility for the Union's old sins will have an opportunity to get credit abroad.

Politically, this could mean the formation of two or possibly even three political and financial blocs of former republics of the Union. Whether Ukraine's idea will be accepted in this form or whether it will develop into something new, will be seen at the March meeting of Commonwealth heads of state.

As the joint communique says, the conference participants—14 states—agreed to remove the USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] from the Russian Federation's jurisdiction. It is proposed to register it at the National Bank of Belarus, giving it the status of specialized interstate bank. It will come under the jurisdiction of a new permanent body—the Interstate Council for Monitoring the Servicing of the Foreign Debt and Utilizing the Assets of the USSR. The USSR Vneshekonombank, the communique goes on to say, is charged with the functions of "authorized bank for the servicing of the foreign debt and the management of the assets of the former USSR." The conference participants took cognizance of the proposal of the Azerbaijani Republic delegation on the need for a broader interpretation of the concept of the assets and reserves of the former USSR, to include export resources of arms and military equipment, including uranium and plutonium esources.

Among the other questions discussed at the conference, it was decided to recommend that the next conference of CIS heads of state confirm the continuity of the commitments of the former USSR to citizens and corporate entities of the CIS under 1982 and 1990 state loan bonds and treasury bonds. Some clarity was also introduced on the question of the issuing of cars on the basis of 1991 special purpose payment checks from the Savings Bank of the former USSR. A memorandum on the results of the Kiev conference has this to say on this question: "With a view to protecting the interests of citizens of the sovereign states who are in possession of special purpose payment checks and mindful that the said checks, paid to them at Russian banks, supplemented Russia's credit resources, it is deemed expedient that the next conference of CIS heads of government examine the question of the sale in 1992 of cars to those in possession of special purpose checks through Russian Federation motor vehicle centers on the terms stipulated in Russian Government Resolution No. 43 of 24 January 1992."

Five CIS Presidents Hold News Conference

LD2702091892 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 27 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Arkadiy Prisyaznhiy and Vladimir Dodonov]

[Text] Helsinki February 27 TASS—The presidents of five Commonwealth states, who arrived here to sign the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, gave a press conference in the building of the Finnish parliament on Wednesday [26 February]. Participants included Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Belarussian Parliament Leader Stanislav Shushkevich, Uzbek President Islam Karimov and Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev.

Asked about the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Kravchuk noted that if the Commonwealth States fulfill the assumed obligations, they will be able to break away from the empire and go their own national ways in a civilised fashion, sharing out all that they jointly possessed—both assets and debts—and also to work out the principles of their life in new conditions. Otherwise, the Commonwealth will not live for long, Kravchuk stressed.

"I do not doubt that the Commonwealth member-states will come to forging collective security on new principles. But this will happen only if they manage to fuse their interests in this area. So far, it is very hard and prematurely to speak about this, but this task should be set," Kravchuk said.

Shushkevich, in turn, expressed the conviction that it will be very difficult for the Commonwealth states to exist without single structures. "Therefore, if the Commonwealth is destroyed, we will have to form a new one," he noted.

"All need to exert maximum efforts to ensure the de facto independence," Snegur emphasised. "Some transition period is needed and economic ties should be preserved." he pointed to the priority nature of economic cooperation in the Commonwealth activity. "It is likewise necessary that we should be equal in the Commonwealth and no one claims the role of a senior brother," Snegur observed.

Karimov said forging horizontal ties both among all of the Commonwealth member-states and between two or three states is of immense importance to the Commonwealth existence. "However, if we call things by their proper names, I would like to say that the future of the Commonwealth is largely contingent on Russia's policy to strengthen it. If this policy is aimed at maintaining equality, the Commonwealth will live for long," he stressed.

All the presidents attending the press conference stated about their countries' firm intention to honour the commitments taken within the Commonwealth framework.

Karimov clarified that Uzbekistan chose its own strategy and tactics of climbing out of the present-day serious situation taking Turkey as a model. "The example of Turkey attracts us because profoundly national and progressive features are harmoniously combined there and a society, which is unburdened by fundamentalism and religion, is being built in that country," he explained.

Both Karimov and Nabiyev stated their countries' intention to develop close friendly ties and mutually beneficial cooperation with Iran, Pakistan and other states in the region.

In conclusion, the presidents voiced confidence in the possibility of overcoming the existing difficulties in the Commonwealth and disagreements through talks involving all parties concerned.

Military

Shaposhnikov Rejects Ukraine Ministry Protest

PM2602162492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Marshal Shaposhnikov Rejects Protest"]

[Text] Yesterday's issue (IZVESTIYA No. 46) carried an article by our correspondent in Kiev, Sergey Tsikora, entitled "Ukraine Sets Up Contacts With NATO." It spoke, in particular, about a Ukrainian Foreign Ministry note of protest sent to Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, concerning improper comments made by him during a television interview on the question of dividing up the Black Sea Fleet.

Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Information Directorate, has contacted the editorial office. He reported that the High Command has informed the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry that, as the stenographic transcript and audio and video recordings of the televized press conference conducted by the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces confirm, the question of the Black Sea Fleet was not touched on or commented on. The commander in chief has given no interviews at all to the mass media on this matter. His position vis-a-vis the Black Sea Fleet is fully in line with the existing agreements and accords among the heads of Commonwealth states.

Therefore the CIS Joint Armed Forces commander in chief regards the statement in the note of protest as completely unfounded and rejects it.

Kasatonov Elaborates Personal Positions

924C0687A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, 19 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander in chief of the Black Sea Fleet, by Grigoriy Pozhenyan; place and date not given: "While Politicians Argue: Admiral Igor Kasatonov Believes That a Fleet Is Not Some Soft Furniture Anyone Could Haul Home to Their National Quarters"]

[Text] **The Sevastopol of February 1992 is unusual in every way. Snow, blizzards, a low sky. Early in the morning there are lines for water. There is no water in the city. As in Odessa in 1941, it is distributed once a day, in rations, sparingly.**

The Navy, even the Navy, does not have any butter. The city provides an allocation. Also sparingly, as much as it can, taking it away from the meager rations of Sevastopol residents.

The farmers markets are empty. People go to Bakhchisaray to buy meat. The Fleet is tense. No one in the squadron has taken the oath of allegiance to Ukraine. Colonel General Chechevatov, the military district commander, says that in his district neither the officers nor the soldiers have taken the oath, although there has been pressure "by hook or by crook" exerted on them by representatives from the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense.

In response to hundreds of cables from Mayor Yermakov about the blockade situation in the city—one cable from the minister of finance in Kiev: "Once we resolve the problem of the Fleet, we will resolve other problems too."

But what about the children, the elderly, the women? They are hostages to the emotions of statehood.

I have met many times with the sailors of the squadron and with the marine brigade. With officers, admirals, ship and group commanders.

They all say in one voice: The Fleet cannot be divided. It is strategic merely by virtue of the fact that any multipurpose ship taking to sea must have the support system provided by trawlers, aircraft, and escort supply bases.

The Black Sea Fleet is an indivisible might, the protection of the southwestern peaceful expanse of our multistate power. This is what Admiral Kasatonov, commander in chief of the Black Sea Fleet, told me:

I came to Sevastopol as a 17 year old seaman and entered the school Imeni P.C. Nakhimova. This became my destiny. In 1940 my father was a trainee from the naval academy where he studied; he stayed with Admiral Gorshkov on Pirogov Street. After school I served in the squadron and was commander of an antisubmarine group. My father was commander of the Black Sea Fleet from 1955 to 1966. On my father's order, tankers, cruisers, and mine sweepers hauled cement, lumber, and materials here from Novorossiysk to rebuild the city.

Thousands of seamen worked building new buildings on the northern side.

I have lived in Sevastopol for 36 years. This is my city and my land. My children were born here. Here is the final resting place for my relatives, friends, and colleagues with whom I served and with whom I went to sea. And now it turns out that I have to leave this land because I am a foreigner here. But this is my city. I am willing to give my life for this city.

Being a professional military man, I am now forced to engage in something I am not used to: to participate in some political processes.

I encounter not only decent people, but only those who use the most obscene forms of mutual relations: deceit, meanness, betrayal. It is my first encounter with such things. Things are also difficult for me because the behavior of our leaders is unpredictable. There is no objective evaluation or scientific evaluation of the Fleet. The Ministry of Defense does not provide either analysis or prognosis. Generally, political ambitions dominate.

The important thing is to not let honest people, those who believe in the need for a large fleet, become victims of these ambitions.

I refuse to take the oath of allegiance to Ukraine. But I understand, although I do not accept, the logic and psychology of those who are agreeable to taking such an oath. I do understand those who take the oath: People are tired of politicking; they want only peace and balance.

I have discussed my positions with many units and subunits, including Ochakov and Nikolayev.

The squadron ship commanders support me. The shipbuilders have also said that the Fleet must belong to one country or republic. It is a common fleet. They are counting on us, that we will stand firm, which will help them persevere too.

Naturally, my family and loved ones, and my friends of whom I have many in every fleet, have been drawn into the vortex of the current events. I receive thousands of cables. The support of my friends gives me confidence that the politicians will come to a right conclusion. "I cannot surrender the city. Will die on the bastion." This was Nakhimov's last confession.

For me, this is the third, peaceful, defense of Sevastopol.

This is Admiral Kasatonov's opinion. Actually, it is mine, too.

Black Sea Fleet Council, Officers Issue Appeal

LD2602173192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1611 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhayl Stetsyuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol, 26 Feb (TASS)—Black Sea Fleet commanders have once again declared their allegiance to the CIS and have called on all sailors not to make hurried decisions and remain loyal to their oath and duty.

The Black Sea Fleet military council and representatives of the officers assemblies, in their joint appeal issued today, have stated that the Black Sea Fleet should be a single strategic operational force for the defense of the CIS' southern waters.

Strategic Rocket Forces Personnel on Future

PM2502145192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Report over video by presenter Yevgeniy Kiselev; from the "Itogi" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev] Tell me, where in Russia can you find well tended roads, and what is more in winter, and what is more in the Nonchernozem Zone far from major cities? But such roads do exist, as you can see. Near the inconspicuous small city of Teykovo in Ivanovo Oblast for example, where a division of the strategic rocket forces is stationed. The roads are tended by the rocket forces. Their weapons are mobile strategic missiles. They can be launched from anywhere—from the unit's territory, the forest, or the road. The missile's technical and combat specifications, including even its name, are top secret. In the West this missile has been dubbed the SS-25. They do not have a weapon like this over there. You may look at this marvel of technology and take pride in our scientists and military, in our whole country, the former Soviet Union, which created it.

I can tell you that this missile could at any moment, on the orders from the president alone, deal a lethal blow to anyone who might dare to attack us. I can also tell you that if trolleybus wheels were fitted to this missile, the wages of the driver of this military vehicle would have to increase severalfold to match the wages of a trolleybus drivers.

It is these officers who mount alert duty. It is they who would operate the button if the order from the president came.

[Guards Senior Lieutenant Popov] What more can I say about the disintegration of our Army? Speaking for myself, it has become so bad that one is ashamed to admit, in a casual conversation in a bus or train for example, to being an officer. There used to be such a thing as duty and honor, but now, duty to whom? I honestly do not know to whom, and what kind of duty. Or take honor. How can we talk of honor if people spit when walking past an officer?

My acquaintances and friends simply laugh at me if I describe my situation, if I tell them how much I earn and how I live. They find it simply laughable. I do not know about others; others may think differently. But I am told at every step to pack it in, to leave the Army because here.... [changes thought] People are telling me: "Your Army is finished." It is hard to disagree; I can only say that the one thing that remains sacrosanct here in the rocket forces is alert duty.

[Kiselev] But the alert duty, the only thing that remains sacrosanct, is costing officers money. It appears that a specific amount of money is deducted from their pay for food which they consume while on alert duty. And so officers who do not do alert duty are better off. The problem is not confined to money, to wages, although this is not negligible, you will agree, especially today.

The main question facing them today is: "Who needs all this? Who needs the missiles, the nuclear warheads, and so on?" Is it they, the officers, or their fatherland? The disarmament process seems to be very difficult to implement. Premier Gaydar has said that the nuclear warheads will simply be removed from the missiles. But the rocket forces men are asking: But where are we to store them? Industry is not ready to handle their destruction. And you cannot simply dump the nuclear goods under a pine tree. The haste with which politicians are acting worries and discourages them.

[Guards Major General V. Cherenov] The first and perhaps the most important problem is against whom are we now to defend our people and our state? The latest remarks by our president, stating that the United States is our friend, have abolished a whole series of our military doctrine tenets. We have received no clarifications as to what should replace them as regards our military labor. This question needs to be addressed in the very near future.

Baltic Border District Asks for Russian Help

LD2402095292 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0600 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] The Military Council of the Baltic Border Protection District has asked Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to take the guarding of borders into Russian jurisdiction until such time as the fate of the district is decided in talks between the delegations of the Russian Federation and the Baltic states. The explanation for this is that the Border Protection District is located on the territories of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, which are not part of the Commonwealth of Independent States, says the announcement.

Stolyarov Holds News Conference in Frunze

PM2602164392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 92 p 1

["Our correspondent" report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "The Main Thing Is Concern for the Individual"]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Feb—A news conference took place 20 February in the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House. Numerous questions from Soviet and foreign journalists were answered by Major General of Aviation N.S. Stolyarov, assistant to the commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and chairman of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Committee for Work With Personnel, his deputies, and the chiefs of a number of the committee's directorates.

Addressing the journalists, Stolyarov briefly dwelt on the committee's aims, objectives, and structure. Here he expressed the hope that this structure's work will give

impetus to the new approach toward work with people whereby the individual and his concerns and needs will be put first. He stressed that it has been possible to enlist in this work authoritative people who are knowledgeable in their field. Suffice it to say that the committee's 144 members include two doctors, 25 candidates of sciences, and six honored cultural workers.

Many of the journalists' questions concerned the difficult situation in the country and Armed Forces. It was stressed in the replies to them that the Army must not become an instrument of politics.

Opinions on Unified Versus National Armies

OW2702084592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1232 GMT 27 Feb 92

[From the "Viewpoint" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the DATA news agency, a February 8-18 opinion poll by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 1635 respondents in Russia, 517 in Ukraine and 498 in Kazakhstan showed that 61% believe the Commonwealth states should have a single army.

23% in Russia, 22% in Ukraine and 23% in Kazakhstan think that the Commonwealth countries must have unified armed forces.

52% in Ukraine, 12% in Russia and 15% in Kazakhstan favor the creation of national armies in their republics.

Political

Former Deputies Proceed With Congress Plans

MK2602130692 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 9, 1 Mar 92 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Opposition: Congress Will Go Ahead Whatever the Weather"]

[Text] MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's correspondent has received confirmation from all-Union parliamentarian Dmitriy Starodubtsev of the news that USSR people's deputies have scheduled their congress for 17 March in Moscow.

He said that a quorum is guaranteed: More than half of the Union deputies have expressed willingness to take part in this event. He had difficulty in giving the names of the members of the action group that has convened an extraordinary congress of a nonexistent state's dissolved parliament. However, citing the opinion of many of his colleagues, he said: "We consider ourselves USSR people's deputies. Only the voters can recall us early in accordance with standing orders and our status."

Media

26 Feb Moscow Evening Press Review

LD2602204292 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—Fourteen former Soviet republics met in Kiev today to discuss old Soviet foreign debts. Russia did not attend, IZVESTIYA reports, describing Ukraine's position on the issue and its proposals of debt repayment. The newspaper, however, sidesteps Russia's stance.

Debt repayment mechanism, proposed by Kiev, envisages that two states, for instance, Ukraine and Russia, act as guarantors for the old Soviet debt, IZVESTIYA writes.

Ukraine pledges to guarantee the debt of those republics, which have not yet signed the agreement on joint responsibility. Under Kiev's proposal, shares will be split: 80 per cent of the total debt will be guaranteed by Russia and 20 by Ukraine, the newspaper says.

IZVESTIYA reports the Iranian attempt to broker talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Military builders at the Baykonyr space centre in Kazakhstan went on strike, attempting to gatecrash the closed city of Leninsk on 15 trucks, the newspaper reported.

The first issue of the "MY" (WE) newspaper, published in Russian and English by the Hearst Corporation and IZVESTIYA, will hit newsstands in Moscow and other Commonwealth cities on Thursday [27 February], it says. The price of the new publication is only three roubles.

Both IZVESTIYA and VECHERNAYA MOSKVA cover a press conference held by Moscow Government officials on Army Day demonstrations in the city on February 23. "On March 17 national patriots and neo-communists plan to hold a new rally," IZVESTIYA reports. Injuries received by them on February 23 will be more impressive in propaganda terms than slogans and banners. Hopefully, city authorities will have enough political will and wisdom not to exceed reasonable limits when defending democracy and ensuring public order, the newspaper writes.

27 Feb Evening TV Newscasts

LD2602222592 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 27 ITAR-TASS—TV information programmes "Vesti" and "Novosti" on Wednesday [26 February] night focused on combat actions in Nagorno-Karabakh.

No armistice has been declared in Nagorno-Karabakh today. Reports from Armenia and Azerbaijan say the combat actions are going on, "Vesti" programme said.

The Iranian foreign minister who came to the region with a peace-making mission, cannot fly to the town of Shusha, which, according to a spokesman for the Azerbaijani president's press service, is under artillery fire.

Today Armenian militants seized the Azeri town of Khodzhaliy. There are fatalities and hostages, "Vesti" and "Novosti" inform. The Armenian agency "LUR" explains that the attack against Khodzhaliy was launched to suppress fire points of the Azeri army. At the daytime the Azerbaijani army attacked the Askeran district of Nagorno-Karabakh, along the border with the Agdam district of Azerbaijan, information programmes reported.

According to "Novosti" programme, over one hundred people were killed and wounded in the last three days. Over the last year and the beginning of this year, twenty military servicemen were killed on the territory of the Transcaucasian Military District, including eight people in Nagorno-Karabakh, and 32 were wounded. The majority of them were Russians, "Novosti" stressed.

Today the session of the Abkhazian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on "a regime of a special conduct of citizens in a situation with elements of a state of emergency", according to "Vesti" programme. It was necessitated by the aggravation of the socio-political and crime situation in Abkhazia. Without imposing measures similar to those taken in a state of emergency, law-enforcement bodies are not in a position to ensure order, prevent explosions and make railways function properly, the programme says.

According to a spokesman for the Ministry of Interior of South Ossetia, approaches to the Tskhinvali area again came under fire. No reports on fatalities were immediately available, "Vesti" pointed out.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin continues a series of meetings with Russian parliamentarians. On Wednesday he discussed issues of interaction between the executive and legislative power with leaders of deputies' factions, "Novosti" reported.

According to Yeltsin, he was and still is for a federative agreement. To stabilize the economy the republic will need about two years of social accord, "Vesti" said with reference to Yeltsin.

International Affairs

Kozyrev on 'Great Power' Destiny, Nuclear Arms

PM2602155092 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 3, Jan 92 pp 20-24

[Interview with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Galina Sidorova: "Andrey Kozyrev: 'And Yet Russia Is Destined To Be a Great Power'"; place and date not given]

[Text] "Quite fitting to be entered into the Guinness Book of Records," said the assistant to the minister looking at his watch meaningfully as I left his boss's study. I doubt that Guinness envisaged records of that kind; however, it was my longest interview I'd ever taken from a Soviet or foreign public figure. It is possible that the new host of the ministerial office was not yet annoyed by journalists or, probably, there are still more questions than answers in our life, including politics.

Galina Sidorova [G.S.]. What do you feel you are in this office—a successor or an overthrower?

Andrey Kozyrev [A.K.]. Well, I think I am a successor, nevertheless. There is nothing to be overthrown here. This structure must undergo a transfiguration. Generally speaking, I adhere to exactly this concept. There has been perestroika. Before it, there was acceleration. I choose transfiguration, this word is rooted in Christian culture. In the practical sense, this ministry, as well as the country as a whole, doesn't need to destroy anything to the ground, as we used to do. But it would be strange to believe that everything works right and must be left as it has been. Would you like to hear an old anecdote popular in this office when I worked in the Union MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]? Question: How many people work in your ministry? Answer: About 30 percent...Well, seriously speaking—about 75 or 80 percent of the personnel. So, a reduction is no doubt a necessity. And a few more words about the transfiguration. The problem is that we, in the course of overcoming a confrontational style of thinking, have inherited its stereotypes, having replaced negative, aggressive ones with positive ones—universal human values understood somewhat abstractly. Links with reality have been severed. First we taught everyone class struggle, then we lectured on shared human values, while the world community continued its normal and harmonious development. In short, it's high time we, transfiguring ourselves, did not behave like an elefant in a pottery shop.

G.S. Nevertheless, foreign policy during perestroika was a sort of locomotive for the Union which hauled it into civilization, into the world community. Do you think that Russia's foreign policy may fulfil the same functions for Russia?

A.K. Generally speaking, this is my dream. Incidentally, I've been Gorbachev's active supporter since 1985. I remember how enthusiastic we felt about us, in this office, promoting the transference of the civilizational potential to this country. It is true though that the task of the MFA consisted largely in dispelling the old ideological incantations and introducing new ones. I remember the highlight of our efforts—into Gorbachev's speech in the United Nations and later in Strasbourg, we managed to insert the words about the unconditional support of the Declaration of Human Rights, the entire text of the latter being a challenge to the communist system. Later difficulties came, as was the case with perestroika as a whole—decisions and actions were to be made in accordance with the declaration. However, at this moment there appeared a desire to hold onto the socialist option. Now that the struggle against the ideological monsters is over, I see our task as attracting as much civilizational potential as possible towards really implementing change. I envisaged tremendous difficulties, including those of creating state mechanisms capable of perceiving these ideas. Besides, the public mentality itself is not yet free from primitive demagogy inherited from former party structures. One can say that it has only started to be formed.

G.S. There is evidently another difficulty too—the growing discrepancy between the foreign and internal policies brought about by the economic collapse in the country. Aren't you afraid that you'll have problems too? Even if the present reforms begin to work, the crisis will at first only deepen...

A.K. We are already having these problems and, of course, our possibilities are limited. Yet every cloud must have a silver lining. The economic reality, for instance, forces us to leave troubled regions in which we, due to the inertia of our bureaucratic structures, supported our ideological allies literally until just recently. The aid extended to Najibullah's regime in Afghanistan is being discontinued only now, and that is largely due to economic reasons. As for me, I would have stopped it for political reasons. I don't think that we owe anything to our ideological allies. I won't be too upset either if the building of aircraft carriers is stopped because of economic difficulties and the money is channeled into the carrying out of more pressing tasks, such as economic and technological revival of Russia's grandeur. Our general poverty causes troubles in the carrying out of our diplomatic functions. This morning I had a headache about the forthcoming conference on the Middle East to be convened in Moscow late this January. On the one hand, that would be the triumph of Russia as the hostess of the event; on the other, however, economic troubles and the chaos of the transitional period create problems.

G.S. To the best of my knowledge, the then Foreign Minister of the Union, Boris Pankin, promised to James Baker in Madrid that the Union would allocate a million dollars as the Soviet contribution to the Madrid stage of the Middle East Conference. The Americans, naturally, waited for this contribution in vain and subsequently made believe, tactfully, that they had forgotten about it. However, no smaller expenses are expected in Moscow.

A.K. Millions of dollars were spent on the Madrid Conference. An analogous way of financing would have simply closed the question of its next stage being in Moscow. But since the conference is international, a number of countries are willing to help. If the dollar part of the expense is covered, we will be able to cover the part of the expense in rubles and manage the affair. It's highly important politically—Russia must demonstrate that it is going to be no worse a partner in the Middle East settlement than its predecessor, or even a more active one. This has also economic implications—the world's business people watch us closely. If Russia is unable to hold even this event three days long, how is it possible to invest there?

Generally, I believe it's too early to discard Russia as a great power.

The great poor one

G.S. So what is our grandeur then?

A.K. Grandeur is determined both by the size and, if you prefer, by the place we occupy in what is called Western, or European civilization. This place of ours is still there. Just like Dostoyevsky and Pushkin...

G.S. But our poverty...

A.K. People think not only in economic terms alone. Even a poor country Pushkin is still Pushkin. Dostoyevsky remains Dostoyevsky. This is, by the way, understood by our friends abroad. And we ourselves must have a sense of history too. Yes, we are poor now and waste our time on standing in lines. All this is repulsive, it irritates: a great power—and we are one in any event, whether within a Union or without it; within the Commonwealth or not, preferably, of course, within (by the way, personally I have always upheld and still uphold the idea of a union)—has nothing to wear. And yet we are destined to be a great power.

G.S. Whatever we might say about the period of perestroika, the dominant idea of 1985—that of returning to civilization, of universal human values—is essentially more progressive than national egoism which became the banner of the 1991 revolution...

A.K. I have nothing against universal human values and, I repeat it, I have enthusiastically struggled for their introduction into our political vocabulary. Without a doubt this was a breakthrough. I am only against the abstract morality so annoying in the new political thinking. So what are these universal human values? These are an individual human being's values, his rights. These are the rights of peoples, their right to national self-identity. And it is stipulated by all universally recognized legal documents—the Charter of the United Nations, the CSCE documents in which the right of nations to self-determination is coupled with the priority of personal rights which means precisely a considerate stance towards ethnic groups. Esteem towards any ethnic minority is, in general, a sign that a state is civilized. A normal Russian state is a continuation of Russian culture's historical traditions. However, all people and ethnic groups living in it side by side must feel free. If you enjoy the right to national self-consciousness, you must recognize it with regard to any other person. I see no contradictions between universal human values and national values.

G.S. Take for example Transcaucasia, Moldova, the Ukraine. Their citizens are literally obsessed with nationalism which forces their leaders to take steps they will probably regret in the future.

A.G. Of course, if the formation of national states on the territory of the former Union is carried out on ethnic or racial principles—in other words, on the principles of national exclusiveness—it will be a terrible experience. The demand expressed by U.S. State Secretary James Baker—I will add for the justice's sake that we have also spoken about it—that the new states must behave in conformity with the set of universal human values clearly formulated in the legal documents of the CSCE, is also in the interests of the peoples concerned and warns them against the "barbarous nationalism" of the 18th-19th centuries.

Sweet is the fruit of victory, but it is not enough for everyone

G.S. Won't Russia's foreign policy be impaired by the former Union states' hectic desire to divide all and everything?

A.K. Of course, it will. It's in the nature of the lumpen-proletariat to divide all and everything. This approach is still sufficiently strong in our mentality, because we are not only Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians, we are all Soviet people, and there is nothing to be done about it. The only real danger for us may lie in a combination of Soviet mentality and nationalism.

G.S. Politicians are in a hurry to make use of the fruits of victory. The impression is that there won't be enough for all. I've been told that Ukrainian representatives demanded a separate elevator in the building of the former Union mission in the United Nations in New York, not to mention other and more serious expenses, embassies became Russian....

A.K. Yes, former Soviet embassies became Russian. Twelve states, not to count the Baltic ones, appeared on the territory of the Union. Far from all of them have been recognized by the world community. Russia has been recognized by practically all countries. Many have recognized the Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. The problem has arisen of retaining continuity in international relationships, including foreign missions. Both we and Western lawyers agreed on the concept of continuity—there must be a state succeeding to the Soviet Union. This is not equivalent to a monopolist successor. Legal successors to the Union are all former republics. Russia is the Union's largest part. After the presidential elections and as a result of the August putsch the Russian

Government is considered as meeting democratic standards. What's more, Russia did not declare independence while other republics did. This is important from the point of view of international law, because, in conformity with the Convention on succession of States, the seceded parts are those which declare their independence. So Russia is the remaining part.

G.S. Does this mean that Russian didn't declare independence because it had farreaching plans for the future?

A.K. There were no property-oriented plans. It is rather a matter of our restraint. President Yeltsin used to repeat: Russia will be the last to declare its own currency and army. We adhered to the concept of a Union to the last moment; it's another matter that we upheld the idea of a union with equal rights for all. Now Russia, as the successor of the Union, assumes its responsibilities and obligations—the seat on the Security Council and co-chairmanship shared with the Americans of the Middle East Conference.

A dozen of "legal subjects" in one embassy?

G.S. But other successor states to the former Union probably also have legal interests in the premises of former Soviet embassies and they also have rights to some property?

A.K. The embassies of foreign states in the Soviet Union, which is no more, are in Moscow. The independent states, former republics, naturally want to open some of them in their countries. But what comes of it? For instance, our present embassy in Paris and the land it is situated on were exchanged for land and a mansion in Moscow on the basis of mutual consent. Which means that the Ukraine, if it wants to establish independent diplomatic relations with France and have a French Embassy in Kiev, must also grant land and a mansion and conclude a corresponding ambassadorial agreement in accordance with its own laws. It only stands to reason that in that case a certain territory would be granted in Paris for the Ukrainian Embassy—on the same principle of mutual consent. It follows that what has been exchanged for a plot of land and premises in Moscow becomes automatically Russian property. A zero variant. Everything that has been located on the territory of other republics is theirs and what has been situated on ours is ours. Otherwise the process of property division will last indefinitely. In short, if we embark on the path of division we will stop working altogether.

G.S. Can partners in the Commonwealth count on compensation?

A.K. 80 to 90 percent of all expenditures on maintenance of embassies is met by Russia, which does not mean that others will be denied the right to use this property. It is rather difficult to calculate each former republic's share in it. According to our estimations, the Ukraine's share is 7-8 to 15 percent. For small republics it varies form a fraction of 1 percent to 1 percent. We would like everyone to be able to work under one roof. This arrangement will require a settlement, and with the country of residence too: one legal subject, the Soviet Union, is replaced by a dozen. Russia intends to help its neighbours build and open their own embassies. This is also a kind of compensation. At the moment we take no rent. For instance, former Central Asian republics may refrain from having their own embassies in some countries for the lack of finance and trained personnel. It is very easy to sign an agreement to the effect that some state or another is represented by the Russian ambassador, in whose office there will be diplomats from, say, Turkmenia or Kyrgyzstan.

G.S. The problem evidently is that all secessionist republics suspect each other, and especially Russia, of evil designs, they are afraid lest it assume the role of a centre and start to take a leading role...

A.K. There is only one way out—to settle each case separately. I think we will overcome suspicion. As concerns embassies, we invite cooperation from all, we are even ready not to count dollars which are so scarce with us. After all, they are our close neighbours. It doesn't matter much if we spend a little more than their share on diplomats from Central Asian republics, for we are interested in their joining of the world community together with us. I hope that Russia's financial organs will cooperate in this matter.

G.S. Judging by what you say, you favour coordination of foreign policy by all republics. Yet far from all member states of the Commonwealth are of the same opinion. Where is the way out?

A.K. The outcome of my contacts with colleagues from even large independent member states shows that all of them see the advantages of a joint approach. They are going to open their embassies in those foreign countries with which relations are of priority to them. In the other cases they prefer to be represented by Russia's ambassadors.

The typist who shook the world

G.S. Probably it is not only a matter of embassies. As far as I know, Russia intends to join NATO, while the Ukraine stands for neutrality. At the same time we are talking about a common military strategic space and a unitary strategic forces command. How to combine the independence of the Commonwealth member states in their foreign affairs with their interdependence?

A.K. You've hit the nail on the head. Indeed, there is no exhaustive answer to the question of what the Commonwealth is and how it is going to operate. I think we will have to proceed from a combination of unity and plurality. It's not ruled out that the Commonwealth will be a transitional stage towards fully independent states. In this case I don't see any other way than gradually "transplanting" the armed forces on Russian soil. It stands to reason, after all. However, for the present the question arises—what civil institutions will exercise control over armed forces of the Commonwealth? Which

parliament or how many parliaments will make decisions concerning military expenses? For the moment, the answer may be either four or all twelve. But who will determine the amount of each share? There is a danger of the military becoming a state within a state, as happened in the Soviet Union, only now this will be easier, because of there being a number of parliaments. I would like the Russian part of the military budget—and Russia accounts for the lion's share of the armed forces—to go through a long procedure of scrutiny, as is the case in the United States and other developed countries. This is the only practical way to ensure reasonable sufficiency for which military science criteria do not exist at present. Civil society decides it for itself what is reasonable and sufficient, proceeding from the set of external threats, considerations of prestige and social situation, by means of its institutions, and primarily the parliament. The problem is essential not only from the viewpoint of guarantees of control over nuclear weapons; its solution is a prerequisite for the integration of the army into civil society.

G.S. Does this mean that the armed forces of the Commonwealth are a myth?

A.K. We are working out a variant which envisages an extremely complicated system of control over the army on the part of the member states, as well as a no less diversified contribution they are expected to make to the armed forces.

G.S. The control, it seems, could become so complicated that it could, in fact, cease to be effective?

A.K. There is such a danger. For the time being there are more questions than answers. However, guarantees of stability in the armed forces are of vital importance today. You have probably noticed that the surrounding world doesn't even discuss the problem of whether or not we need the enormous arsenal of a nuclear superpower. All are concerned about the problem of preserving the stability of and unitary control over this arsenal. The easiest thing to do here is to divide the army and declare the part deployed on the territory of a particular state its property.

G.S. This is what the Ukraine is doing...

A.K. I wouldn't like to criticize anyone. I proceed from the assumption that we are all sensible people. However, it is of principal importance that the natural right to possessing one's own armed forces be correlated with the reality in which we all exist. This reality is such that placing the army stationed on the territories of the independent states before the option—to whom to swear before allegiance and whom to obey—means running the risk of a split and destabilization. If in the same military unit there are officers and men obeying different states, any personal confrontation may acquire political implications. And political conflicts between the member states of the Commonwealth are not, unfortunately, ruled out. I favour the concept of excluding the army from political life.

If we managed to reach an agreement about a three- or four-year transitional period, this time would be quite sufficient to settle in a civilized manner all problems with those republics who would like to have their own armed forces, as well as with those which prefer a united army. And those who will choose the path of a closer cooperation might join NATO together with Russia. By the way, a few words about NATO. We in fact compiled a report from President Yeltsin in which it was stated that Russia did not at the moment raise the question of joining NATO; the idea was that the matter was to be considered in the future. But the word "not" disappeared when the paper was copied by a typist...

G.S. And how could it have happened that the typing error was noticed only three days later?

A.K. Well, we were already in Rome at the moment and marvelled at everybody talking about NATO. I was asked there if we really raised the question of joining it. I answered we did, but it was planned for some time in the future. Probably it is not even so bad that the typist brought the problem to a head. All of us had to consider it seriously, I see no tragedy in that some of the Commonwealth member states will pursue independent military policies in the future.

G.S. Which means in fact that there will be no common military space either?

A.K. I wish there were. Unfortunately, not all wishes come true. However, you needn't dramatize the situation. The most important thing today is to cope with destabilization, and tomorrow new possibilities may arise. Look at the West. Various countries participate in various coordination mechanisms. The European Community does not coincide with NATO. Within the EC, there is the Western European Union, whose composition is different from both the EC and NATO. Most probably we also will have a kind of mosaic—some will join the military union, others—the economic; some will stay away from either, just preserving good relations with both. Would you like to hear a forecast? Bilateral agreements will acquire growing importance alongside multilateral ones. This won't be a disintegration of the Commonwealth, but rather a supplement of it. If we settle the most complicated problems, including military and economic ones, on the basis of the bilateral agreement we have already concluded with the Ukraine, this will only consolidate the ground for multilateral cooperation.

...and no bathrooms, please

G.S. There are at least three new nuclear states in the mosaic we have presented to the world...

A.K. Not quite so, because here too the concept of a successor—this time to a nuclear superpower—works. Incidentally, I think that Russia will have to be a nuclear power—I hope, not a superpower. It is stated in the Minsk Agreement that the decision concerning the use or, rather, non-use of nuclear weapons is made by the

President of the Russian Federation. He acts in coordination with the member states of the Commonwealth on whose territory they are deployed and taking into account the interests of the other members of the Commonwealth. In other words, it is the strategic space of not only four, but of all the states.

G.S. All the more so that there are tactical nuclear arms on the territory of almost all of them...

A.K. We intend to remove and destroy tactical arms quickly, as stipulated by the agreements reached.

G.S. Nevertheless it is difficult to imagine how the question of the nuclear button can be coordinated if the situation requires a quick decision. Suppose one of the four is taking a bath, somebody is taking a rest and is nowhere to be found...

A.K. And this pertains to the responsibility of the leader of the state or country on whose territory nuclear weapons are deployed—once the responsibility is assumed, there can be no question of bathrooms or banquet halls inaccessible for immediate communication. Today President Yeltsin is followed by several large cars stuffed with electronic equipment affording him communication through the hotline at any point in his itinerary.

G.S. There is also the Kazakh component in our nuclear mosaic. The Ukraine has declared its desire to get rid of its nuclear burden, while Kazakhstan, in all evidence, is not in a hurry to abandon it...

A.K. You'd better ask President Nazarbayev about it. But as I understand it, the only difference is the timetable. The Ukraine insists on urgent liquidation, while Kazakhstan doesn't.

G.S. Are you going to resort mainly to traditional negotiations or to unilateral steps already taken first by President Bush last autumn and later by Gorbachev?

A.K. It will be more expedient probably to combine the method of negotiations with unilateral steps. Formerly the main method was that of excruciating negotiations while unilateral initiatives were resorted to either in order to expedite something or to place the partner in an unfavourable light. It's high time we acted on the basis of reasonable sufficiency—if we have found a surplus of weapons they must be reduced without any negotiations. In this case the other side may also react adequately and find something to reduce too. Negotiations could play an auxiliary role here.

G.S. How are you going to divide the Geneva and Vienna disarmament talks between the members of the Commonwealth?

A.K. The scheme is still to be worked out. We are discussing the matter with our colleagues just now. It stands to reason that a joint delegation with a coordinated position must be sent to the negotiations on nuclear weapons which remain under joint command. It is not ruled out that the members of the Commonwealth will participate independently in the talks on conventional arms in Geneva. After all, the NATO members are individually responsible for their quotas of reductions and the steps they agree upon.

In the common anti-economic space

G.S. With whom is it easier for you to conduct negotiations—with your partners in the Commonwealth or with your foreign colleagues?

A.K. With the foreign colleagues, of course. I don't make a secret of it. The democratic countries of the West, into which I include a large group of states ranging from Japan to the United States, are our natural friends. The structure of relations with them has been worked out and settled. We know what we are talking about. Everything is all right on their part; we have no problem with understanding their complicated but orderly position. The Commonwealth member states are also our natural friends, but, like Russia, they are living through a transitional period too. I have apprehensions about the attempts to measure everything with one common yardstick and the categorical nature of certain demands.

G.S. What is the mechanism for decision-making in the sphere of Russian foreign policy?

A.K. This is a sore point. There is no worked-out scheme. We are now busy working on it together with all bodies concerned—the military, with what is left of the KGB, and with foreign trade organizations. The last instance is the President. The legislators could assume control over the military and foreign policy budgets. I realize that it is going to be a bad headache for me. Yet this is the key allowing the parliament to control us without interfering in routine decision-making. Besides, the Supreme Soviet has the instrument of ratification for influencing policy.

G.S. Do you enjoy freedom of decision-making?

A.K. Yes, we have freedom of routine decision-making. However, all decisions of a political nature must be settled with the President.

G.S. Would you like to have more freedom?

A.K. I would like contacts with the President and the parliament concerning the decision-making being institutionalized. There must be two constantly operating channels of communication, it would facilitate my work—not because I shun responsibility. I just want to have constant feed-back to feel that I am controlled...

G.S. And, lastly, the most important question: what, in your opinion, are the priorities of Russia's foreign policy?

A.K. I am criticized for lacking a clear concept of Russia's foreign policy. We work on it together with scientists and experts. But I must confess that it is a futile

undertaking—just like a CPSU programme: if it overlooks something, it is incomplete; when complete it becomes a dead scheme. For instance, there exists the notion of the U.S. national interests. But where are they recorded? They are each time defined according to the situation. I see Russia's national interest in preventing the emergence of impenetrable borders for millions of Russians live in the states outside Russia, and in preventing severance of normal economic relations in the course of gratifying the natural tendencies towards sovereignization, although we live not in a common economic, but rather in a common anti-economic space. Some discontinuance of economic ties is inevitable just as bankruptcy of some enterprises in Russia. However, it is vitally important to prevent trade wars. One more vitally important interest lies in going beyond the end of the "cold war" (which is Gorbachev's and Shevardnadze's merit) towards cooperation in building democratic societies and a normal life in one sixth of the world. Our former opponents become our natural allies. Our aim is to enter the community of civilized nations of the Northern Hemisphere. One more area of our interests lies in cooperation with all our other neighbours along the southern border, considering their unique characteristics. We are also seriously interested in developing economic relations with our indirect neighbours, such as the countries of the ASEAN or Brazil. And lastly, Russia's participation in the Security Council in conformity with the concept of the successor to the Soviet Union. This is a great responsibility. I don't rule out that in the course of time we will participate in peace-keeping forces. We may also have to consider sometime the possibility of using the United Nations' units in conflicts on the territory of the Commonwealth.

Khasbulatov on Coup Chances, Ukrainian Relations

LD2602150692 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[Text] Paris February 26 TASS—At a time of social upheavals in the country, the Russian parliament must assume responsibility in full, its speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov told the French newspaper LE FIGARO.

"When we see that the reality of undertaken reforms is at variance with the expected results, we must forcefully declare that and demand corrections. This is what parliamentarianism is about," he noted.

Setting out his vision of the future Commonwealth of Independent States, Khasbulatov said he did not share the pessimistic view held by many experts.

"The Commonwealth is a newly formed entity and it is absolutely normal that its creation should cause friction," he emphasised.

Asked about the possible compromise between Russia and Ukraine, the speaker noted that the Russian and Ukrainian peoples cannot remain at loggerheads for a long time. "The Ukrainian state must assert itself. With time it will become a major force in the region," he pointed out.

"I am convinced that our two peoples will shortly demand that our leaders cease setting them against each other."

There is nothing tragic in current contradictions, because the Commonwealth member states still reel from the shock caused by permanent pressure of the former Soviet Union.

Fears by republics that Russia will assume the former role of the centre are quite understandable, but "we are not going to subjugate anyone," Khasbulatov stressed.

The parliament speaker said he did not believe in the possibility of a new coup because there is no organising force to carry it out. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out completely. Particularly, much attention should be given to the plight of the armed forces that found theselves in a "dramatic situation".

"I believe that Russia needs to set up its own ministry of defense and the army. This must be conventional armed forces, and single control should be retained over strategic forces," Khasbulatov said.

Nuclear arms cuts, he continued, should be carried out simultaneously by all republics holding nuclear weapons and in appropriate proportions. This formula will make it possible for Ukraine and Kazakhstan to get rid of their nuclear arsenals completery, while Russia will remain a nuclear power but with fewer weapons.

Soviet Brigade in Cuba Reduced Unilaterally

OW2702123592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The training brigade of the armed forces of the former USSR in Cuba has been reduced from 2,800 to 2,150 men. According to the Russian Foreign Ministry, the move was unilateral and under no agreement with Havana. The talks with Cuba on the complete withdrawal of the brigade started at the end of last year, but the first round did not produce any concrete results.

According to a Russian diplomat, the next round is due in Moscow. The concrete time will be announced after preliminary questions are settled with President Yeltsin.

Cuban Sugar To Arrive From Ukraine, Kazakhstan

PM2602160692 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 92 p 3

[Pavel Bogomolov "Rejoinder": "The Sugar Tastes Bitter. Who Is To Blame?"]

[Text] At last! The cracks which appeared after 1985 in relations between the increasingly democratic Moscow and the "absolutist" Havana are sprouting out with fruit-bearing trees.

The only thing is, the fruits are somewhat doubtful. They prompt very immediate and, incidentally, entirely real fears about the fact that we will now have to import Cuban sugar not from Cuba but from Ukraine or Kazakhstan. And no doubt it will cost more.

Of course, Kiev and Alma-Ata lagged behind Moscow somewhat in the field of attacks on Fidel Castro's regime. They did not even get around to opening Cuban emigre missions in their countries. But then the new independent states' fledgling diplomacy cunningly overtook us in the sphere of signing mutually beneficial agreements with the distant Caribbean island.

Only recently it was somehow hard to believe that we would all suffer noticeably from cooler relations with Cuba. There were persistent hopes that at the very least Russians' pocketbooks, already somewhat depleted of late, would not react to inconsistencies artificially created between us and Havana by the masters of the struggle against totalitarianism.

Alas, in response to a timely question from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on whether Moscow will be forced to import "Cuban-Ukrainian" sugar, the Russian Foreign Ministry replied that this possibility is not ruled out, just as differences between CIS members on problems of trade with Cuba in general are not ruled out. Of course, talk nowadays centers on world prices, which are better than former preferential prices. But you know, a significant proportion of these preferential prices were paid in the form of our technology, equipment, and spare parts, for which there is no demand on other markets.

Moreover, accounts were settled directly with Havana. What will happen now? And who will stop Ukraine from processing Cuba's raw product into sugar cubes at their plants and then inflating the price of the finished product for Russia?

Minister Explains Absence From Kiev Debt Talks

LD2602172892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 26 February (ITAR-TASS)—"Russia has no questions regarding the problem of debts," and that is why the Russian delegation did not take part in the interstate consultative conference, held in Kiev yesterday, on creating the necessary conditions for fulfilling the debt obligations of the former USSR in good time. Petr Aven, Minister of External Economic Relations of the Russian Federation, stated this today in an exclusive interview for the ITAR-TASS correspondent. Moreover, he said, by way of explanation for the delegation's absence, that the Russian leadership and experts were very busy as interstate talks with Latvia were held on Tuesday [24 February]. Delegations from 14 republics of the former Union took part in the work of the Kiev conference.

Petr Aven recalled that Russia signed the memorandum on joint responsibility for payment of the foreign debt of the USSR back at the end of last year, as did a number of other former republics of the USSR, and that in December the heads of governments also signed agreements on servicing the foreign debt and on setting up the appropriate interstate council.

"We believe that this system has begun to work so we see no reason now to review at the level of republican delegations something that was signed by the heads of governments," stated the Russian Minister.

Concerning the proposal made at the Kiev conference to remove the former USSR Vneshekonombank from Russian jurisdiction, Petr Aven said that, as far as he is aware, "the conference participants want to submit this matter to the next session of the Council of CIS Heads of Governments." He stressed that "Russia was forced to take the Vneshekonombank under its jurisdiction because the majority of sessions of the interstate council for servicing the foreign debt were inadequate and the bank's activity was virtually paralyzed." However, the Minister maintained that Russia "has believed and does believe that the Vneshekonombank works under the control of the interstate council and we are firmly sticking to the previous agreement."

Churkin on Kozyrev Africa Tour, Honecker Case

PM2702111492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Diplomatic Relations Being Restored Between Russia and South Africa After 36 Years of Rupture"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will be visiting Angola, South Africa, and Egypt from 26 February through 1 March. This was reported at the regular briefing conducted by V. Churkin, chief of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Information Administration.

Two sets of problems, in particular, are to be examined at the talks in Luanda: the process of settlement in that country on the basis of the agreements signed last 31 May with the active participation of the United States and the USSR, whose successor in the international arena is Russia; and Russian-Angolan bilateral relations.

Churkin stressed that Russia and South Africa possess considerable potential for economic cooperation. That is why it has been decided to include a number of high-ranking officials in the delegation. The Foreign Ministry spokesman reported that the talks in South Africa will discuss problems concerned with normalizing bilateral

relations. And as your correspondent learned from diplomatic sources, it is planned to sign documents restoring diplomatic relations at embassy level during the Russian delegation's visit to South Africa.

During the visit to Egypt the exchange of opinions will primarily be on questions connected with the Near East settlement.

Answering journalists' questions, the Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed that Erich Honecker is in a Moscow clinic. He also said that "this was not a surprise to us, everything was carried out at the request of the Chilean ambassador. We continue to regard Honecker as his guest." Churkin also noted that when the treatment is over Honecker will again be able, if he so desires, to return to the Chilean Embassy. "In our opinion, all questions concerning Honecker's departure—to wherever that may be—are to be resolved between the Chilean and German sides," he said.

Churkin stated that the Russian Government guaranteed Honecker's transfer from the Chilean ambassador's residence to the hospital, guarantees his safety while there, and will guarantee security during his return to the Chilean ambassador's residence.

"The Russian leadership," Churkin stressed, "still considers the German authorities' demand for Honecker's extradition to be legal and, were it not for for humanitarian considerations and were he not the guest of the Chilean ambassador, we would have to extradite Erich Honecker to Germany."

Journalists learned that the other day the Estonian Supreme Council unanimously passed a law rehabilitating all Estonians convicted by Soviet courts since World War II on charges of cooperating with the Nazis. Tallinn considers that it was essential to pass this law, as individual rehabilitation would take too much time. Radio Liberty asked for comment on this report.

"It cannot be ruled out that there are quite a few people innocent of the crimes imputed to them among the Estonian citizens thus rehabilitated," was the Foreign Ministry representative's opinion. "But it is just as evident that among the citizens convicted of cooperating with the fascists at that time, there are people guilty of killing civilians, of carrying out executions by firing squad, and of taking part in bloody reprisals. The rehabilitation of such people simply because there is no time to investigate all the cases is hardly justified. Moreover, such rehabilitation is unjust not only with respect to the victims of the crimes and their relatives, but also with respect to those who were actually repressed illegally and who will now be rehabilitated along with actual criminals."

'Pragmatic Interests' To Be Foreign Focus

MK2702080292 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 9, 1 Mar 92 p 5

[Article by Edian Agayev, "Adviser to the Russian Foreign Minister": "Russia Between North and South"]

[Text] President Yeltsin's recent trips to the West, the Russian-U.S. Camp David declaration, and J. Baker's individual appearances in the geopolitical area of what was the USSR have provided ample food for thought about Russia's becoming an integrated part of the West. Some people are delighted by this, while others are shattered by the thought that Russia is virtually becoming a puppet in the hands of the leading Western powers. I do not think, however, that there is any cause for concern here or, moreover, for delight.

With the disappearance of the USSR and the destruction of the Communist bloc the concepts "West" and "East" are regaining their traditional—cultural-geographic rather than ideologized—meaning. The West is indeed still the West, the East still the East, and Russia still Russia. They are by no means dissolving and cannot dissolve in one another. Moreover, different civilizations retain their own peculiar features, which should not, however, prevent their hewing to common norms of behavior.

All attempts to divide the world community into camps of any kind are the result of the inert thinking of the recently ended "cold war" period. There must be no camps in the modern, interdependent world. But this does not mean universal unanimity and unity. Every state has its own specific interests and priorities, which are in a number of cases directly opposed. It is important not to allow these clashes to develop into acute conflict situations. There are international mechanisms and forums for this with whose help differences of approach can be correctly revealed and mutually acceptable solutions decisions sought.

Last, an interconnected world does not mean a standardized way of life. It would be equally wrong to try to spread Christianity worldwide or try to hoist the green flag of Islam everywhere. Just as it would be wrong to impose any standard traditions and try to make everyone alike.

I would say that what is needed is a philosophy of global tolerance presupposing mutual respect for cultural and ethical traditions and acknowledgment of the right to exist for everyone's historical way of life. But tolerance is not tantamount to being all-forgiving. Violations of norms accepted by the overwhelming majority of states on the pretext of "specific national conditions" must not go unnoticed by the world community.

In casting aside totalitarianism, Russia struck the last blow to the already collapsing "Iron Curtain" and put an end to the political division of the world into East and West. It would be unforgivable were we to start to erect new barriers in the place of those that have fallen, this time on another side, the South. Of course, it is understandable to want to associate with the rich North and join the category of most developed countries as soon as possible. But it is not enough to want this. Russia's turn toward leading Western industrial countries must be perceived as an effort to overcome the legacy of its

confrontational past. Russia is by no means turning its back on the South. It cannot do this for the simple reason that the characteristics of North, South, East, and West are very closely interwoven in Russia.

We must normalize relations with the South, free them of their ideologized nature, and render them normal, natural ties. Especially since, when we speak about the South, we do not mean far-off Namibia or Myanmar, but primarily Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, the Caucasus—including, of course, Karabakh. Russia cannot brush aside this South, complex, troubled, and rife with conflict though it is. It is a historical sphere of Russia's geopolitical interests. Russia's withdrawal would create a vacuum that might be filled by highly unpredictable forces. There are also important powers in the South such as India and China.

It is important to avoid another danger facing us—another Messianic idea whereby Russia is meant to become a kind of bridge between North and South and therefore supposedly has a special, historic role. It is certainly time to abandon the quest for any kind of "historic role." The country's strictly practical and, if you like, pragmatic interests must be made the center of relations with all states. Today these interests primarily demand that we escape from the profound socioeconomic crisis. This presupposes developing cooperation with all states which are willing rather than devising new plans to divide the world into black and white, be it "West-East" or "North-South."

French Senate Delegation in Moscow for Talks

LD2602160592 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 26 ITAR-TASS—An interparliamentary "Russia-France" group has been formed in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on the analogy with the French Parliament, the first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Sergey Filatov informed today. He had a meeting with the French Senate delegation headed by its vice president Pierre Christian Taittinger, who is in Moscow.

The parliamentarians exchanged views on problems concerning formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, comparing them with the integration processes in Western Europe. They paid great attention to prospects of economic reforms in Russia and emphasised, its success may have a decisive influence on the new Commonwealth as a whole and on the whole system of security as well.

The participants to the meeting discussed ways and forms of development of bilateral cooperation.

Legality of Joint Venture With France Questioned

PM2602155592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Yuriy Makhrin: "Moscow City Soviet Session Appeals To Prosecutor"]

[Text] PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and other newspapers have told their readers about the agreement signed in 1990 by G. Popov, Yu. Luzhkov, and I. Zaslavskiy on the establishment of the Franco-Russian "CNIT-Kaluga Gate" joint venture.

In particular, it envisages a 99-year lease on 60 hectares of land in the capital's Oktyabrskiy Rayon at $10 per year, and the demolition of several apartment blocks. While in Paris recently, the mayor of Moscow "denied the Bolshevik press' fabrications," IZVESTIYA reported.

The Moscow City Soviet session that ended 19 February examined the sale of the land, apartment blocks, and people into the bargain at a giveaway price. It adopted a decision stating that the former officials of the Moscow City Soviet had exceeded their authority. Yu. Luzhkov was told to suspend his order "On the Redevelopment of Gagarin Square and Adjoining Territories."

The session appealed to the Moscow prosecutor to check whether former Moscow City Soviet Chairman G. Popov had been legally entitled to sign the "CNIT-Kaluga Gate" agreement.

UK Aid Plan Lowers 'Lifeboat' To Russia

924C0687B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, 19 Feb 92 p 9

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Ozerov: "Whitehall Dreams of Russia: It Looks Like John Major Took the Lead in the Crusade To Help Yeltsin. With His Own Plan in Hand"]

[Text] London—**The count is not in months, it is in weeks, even days. Delay in economic reforms means death. All leading powers in the West must contribute their maximum efforts to render urgent help to Russia.**

This demand is coming today from a seemingly unexpected place—from the banks of the Thames. It was only recently that Britain was very cautious in this respect. Now, however, Prime Minister John Major himself has developed a plan that the British press is calling "a dramatic turn in British foreign policy" and even an "historic phenomenon."

What is the substance of it? The substance is to immediately create an international fund for stabilization. The size of the fund—about $10 billion. Its purpose is to prop up the ruble and to clear the way for foreign investment in our country. Here in London the opinion is still that Russia's acceptance into the International Monetary Fund as soon as possible is of great importance, but a

"return" is not to be expected before summer. IMF membership is supposed to come through in April, and only after that can we expect credits and steps to support the ruble. Meanwhile, as developments in Russia show—increasing instability, the wave of rallies, etc.—the time factor has become decisive. Therefore, the ruble must become convertible in the next two to two and a half months.

Without the participation of the largest countries, first and foremost the United States and Japan, the fund does not have a chance to succeed. Some partners are dragging their feet, hesitating; some nod in the direction of the food parcels that are now coming to the CIS—we are already participating, they say. Major, however, is stubbornly pushing for their consent...According to one employee of the British Ministry of Finance, "the prime minister was extremely inspired by his talks with Boris Yeltsin at the end of last month, and especially by the fact that the president of Russia fully tied his own destiny to the success of the reform."

Undoubtedly, Major has domestic considerations as well. Parliamentary elections are coming up, and contenders for the post of prime minister need an attractive image. To lead the world community in the crusade to save democracy in Russia, outdoing even the acknowledged champion in the likes of Germany—such a reputation will score quite a few points.

It already does.

"During the years of perestroyka, especially when your leader started flirting with our conservatives, English businessmen perceived the Soviet Union as a partner who was not serious, who on top of everything was not paying his debts," said Michael Hall, chairman of the British-Soviet Chamber of Commerce. "Lately, the desire to work together has grown tremendously. Businessmen support large-scale, urgent financial help to Russia."

Will the "Major Plan" work? It is hard to tell—we are talking about very large amounts, a short time span, and, most importantly, a very difficult task. But one way or other, the British are trying to quickly lower a lifeboat in the water.

Japan Reacts To ROK Fishing in Kurils

LD2602123192 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo February 26 TASS—Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe has officially expressed regret on Wednesday [26 February] over the Russian Government's decision to grant South Korea the rights to fish in waters around the southern Kurile Islands, which Tokyo claims from Russia.

Speaking to the Foreign Affairs Commission in the parliament's Chamber of Representatives, Watanabe stressed the Russian-South Korean fishery agreement will hardly become a serious hurdle for negotiations on the so-called "problem of Northern Territories," or four of the Kurile Islands—Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan, and Habomai, which became part of the USSR's territory after 1945. However, the foreign minister stated, the matter would certainly affect Russian-Japanese relations. The statement clearly shows Japan does not recognise the right of Moscow to independently decide on economic cooperation with other countries in the south Kurile area.

An official spokesman of the Russian Committee on Fishing confirmed to TASS on Tuesday [25 February] South Korea was given a licence to fish in the 200-mile zone in the south Kurile area. The committee officials think Japan recognized de facto that the south Kurile's area was a Russian territory, when it got the similar licence in 1977.

Taiwan Offer To Buy Arms 'Carefully Studied'

PM2602113192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 92 p 1

[Untitled RIA report]

[Text] Russian Federation Economics Minister Andrey Nechayev said that Taiwan's offer to buy armaments from Russia is being "carefully studied" at the present moment. Consultations are also being held with the PRC.

Official Describes Arms Export Controls

924P0089A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with V. Shibayev, deputy chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Shibayev, Deputy Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations: If Everyone Were Allowed To Sell Arms, the Unjustified Competition Would Lead to a Fall in Prices"]

[Text] Vladimir Shibayev is deputy chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations (KVES). He is 45 years old. He graduated from the Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School and then the Foreign Trade Academy and various courses of instruction. He had always worked professionally as a businessman, including for Volskiy in the Scientific-Industrial Union. He has devised a strategy for foreign trade and created the necessary commercial structures for this. He is in charge of questions of foreign trade, arms, food, raw material, and equipment sales and investment cooperation.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Vladimir Dmitriyevich, what is the fate of the contracts for the supply of arms,

spares, and equipment according to agreements concluded on behalf of the former USSR? Which of them and to what extent (including problems of maintenance and spares) will be fulfilled by the government of the Russian Federation?

[Shibayev] The Russian side will continue to fulfill the specific obligations of the former USSR pertaining to supplies of arms and military equipment and maintenance services with regard for actual political decisions and considerations of mutual advantage. The world arms market has already, in a sense, been divided up, and walking away from a market which has already been won would be wrong.

Cooperation in the military sphere with Nicaragua has practically ceased, and cooperation with Cuba, Laos, Vietnam, Mongolia, Yemen, and the DPRK has diminished considerably. The Russian side has ceased unilaterally to fulfill contract obligations to Yugoslavia and Cambodia, which is in keeping with UN decisions.

At the same time we will endeavor to continue cooperation with countries which have been our traditional partners over many years. Use is being made of the opportunities to pay for supplies of our military equipment with consumer goods, foodstuffs, and equipment supplies. Many domestic enterprises manufacturing arms and military equipment are engaged in such barter. We are purchasing tea in India to a considerable extent in exchange for supplies within the framework of military-technical cooperation.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Speaking at the all-Army Officers' Assembly, President Yeltsin announced big potential opportunities for Russian arms exports and even promised firs' aid for officers in the solution of social questions thanks to military equipment exports. What now are the actual prospects from the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations viewpoint? Could exports exert a decisive influence on the solution of social questions in the Army and also help solve questions of conversion?

[Shibayev] Our military has now acquired an opportunity to sell overseas some military assets, gear, and auxiliary equipment, and commercial structures within the framework of the Army and Navy have been created to this end even. In addition, the Army and Navy have much in the way of arms and military equipment which could be supplied for export. And the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations is working most actively to realize these export opportunities.

Conversion (in the broad sense) means a reduction in government spending on arms and on defense and a lowering of the costs of the production and an increase in the quality of arms and their competitiveness. After all, there are plants which cannot be reoriented toward civil production. So a direction of the work on conversion is production of the best weapons with the fewest outlays. It needs to be clearly decided (in respect of each enterprise) where it is expedient to reduce or even curtail the production of military equipment and where it is expedient to preserve it. After all, arms sales are a truly highly profitable business.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What kind of government control at the time of the sale is anticipated?

[Shibayev] Provision should be made for a state system of trade and state control. Only specially authorized organizations and firms should be allowed to trade. They must be competent in the given sphere and, what is most important, must observe state interests. We should proceed from the fact that everything should be permitted which is not prohibited. The countries with which there should be no trade must be clearly designated, as must the weapons (chemical, nuclear, and so forth, for example) whose exportation is prohibited. All the rest should be permitted.

But the trade must be practiced by professionals. Previously the arms trade was concentrated in the hands of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (USSR MVES). There was a logic to this. For since 1985 the right of independent outlet onto the international market has been accorded the manufacturers of machinery and equipment, the majority of mechanical engineering foreign trade associations of the former USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations having been transferred to their jurisdiction. As a result of the decentralization, machinery and equipment exports have declined from tens of billions of dollars to almost nothing. Exports of machinery and equipment have practically ceased (aside from the exports of Zhigulis, some machine tools, and such). The export firms created at the former machine-building ministries have been turned into trading houses—they sell raw material and waste, engage in barter, and so forth.

The liberalization of trade should not mean the abandonment of government control. If everyone were allowed to sell arms, the unjustified competition (between our own manufacturers) would lead to a fall in prices (thus the trading houses and firms created on the basis of the disintegrated Ministry of Aviation Industry would all like to sell combat aircraft, not civilian equipment). We would possibly sell more even, but the currency earnings would be the same or even less. And the market would prove glutted, as was the case with Soviet aluminum exports, which led to an almost threefold drop in prices.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] But will the system of military-technical cooperation which is being created be capable of holding back the pressure of manufacturers wishing to sell arms and of international dealers and brokers, who are looking for opportunities to buy?

[Shibayev] We should not, I believe, be holding back but ensuring strict observance of state interests in the arms trade. If you make good weapons, this still does not mean that you can sell them well. This needs to be learned. If the MiG firm, say, gains experience of foreign trade, it

will do the selling itself. Meanwhile we are prepared to do this in conjunction with them.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] Are there practicable proposals on the part of "nontraditional" purchasers of Soviet equipment which might expand the traditional sales markets and improve the foreign trade balance?

[Shibayev] A great many nontraditional purchasers of our military equipment have appeared currently. We determine quite quickly which of them are serious customers, and which, if you will excuse me, are rogues. Many proposals are being received. Our main job is to determine the ultimate purchaser of the military equipment (final customer certificate) and the authorities' permission for arms transactions and to ascertain a partner's solvency.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] I have learned that a deal was prepared some time ago with the Spanish Sincan firm (in conjunction with the well-known American Continental Grain corporation) involving the direct sale (barter) of arms totaling $1 billion (for grain). What is the fate of this deal, and will such contracts with private firms be concluded in the future?

[Shibayev] It is essential to prepare such contracts very thoroughly and professionally. The Sincan Center had made such an offer, and it was supported. But Sincan does not itself deal in arms and does not supply food. It was in this case merely the coordinator. When we looked into the deal in greater depth, it was ascertained that the Spanish state-owned company, which might have assumed the functions of importer of Russian weapons, was prepared to supply the weapons to, conditionally, say, our traditional sales markets. But we were already supplying arms there. That is, we would have been competing with ourselves. In addition, we have to interest the arms manufacturers. The MiG firm, for example, needs money (dollars), not grain. Not in such quantities, in any event. But we are not curtailing our work with the Spanish. It is simply that what is being offered currently is not entirely suitable for us. We are interested in intermediaries in order to move onto the markets of third countries and markets which are nontraditional for us. After all, moving onto new markets independently is quite difficult.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] There have of late been the most diverse and at times extremely implausible rumors in the press concerning exports of various arms from the territory of the former USSR. Do you know of any instances of arms exports by other former Soviet republics? What is the actual situation now and who in fact issues the export licenses?

[Shibayev] I do not know of any instances of such unlicensed sales. Export licenses are now issued by our committee (the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations) with specification of the date of the action and the quota. A precise system has been maintained here. We obtain the government's consent to each deal. We will employ all possible methods to optimize our work. We are assimilating new sales markets. We have had a long operating life. A possible method of furtherance of the solution of the problem of homeless officers could be a program of the building of housing on the earnings from arms sales.

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] What is the possible structure of the system of military-technical cooperation and will it really be able to control supplies of military equipment?

[Shibayev] Earlier practical trade in arms was undertaken by specialized agencies of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Now it is anticipated creating a supreme coordinating body from the leaders of a number of departments: the Ministries of Economy and Finance, Industry, Defense, the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, the Federal Security Agency, the Foreign Intelligence Agency, and possibly other interested departments. It is anticipated that the committee will be headed by a present leader of the government. This committee will adopt all the most important strategic decisions. The entire arms trade should be headed and globally coordinated by the president. In addition, there should be parliamentary control also, for which, possibly, the appropriate parliamentary commission for military-technical cooperation would be created.

A military-technical cooperation agency, which will issue export licenses and exercise other functions of the state control and regulation of arms trading, is already operating within the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

But we have opponents in the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Industry, and other departments. Enterprises of the Ministry of Industry are experiencing considerable difficulties without government orders. They think that they will be able to solve their problems by way of the independent exportation of their "products." An aircraft or a tank may, of course, be sold at several times less than the market price, but is this necessary?

[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA] It is possible also to sell to international dealers, which, in addition, pay cash, not worrying unduly about where these arms will go subsequently...When might an effective legal basis for arms trading appear?

[Shibayev] A law on military-technical cooperation should have been drawn up prior to 1 October 1992. But until then the previous legislation will be in effect. Everyone who sells arms currently without a correctly drafted permit is in violation of the law. It is this which is causing the unhappiness.

We believe that the practical trading activity should be handled by professionals. Two state companies have now been created on the basis of three former administrations (the GUSK, GIU, and GTU). Practically all the people capable of selling arms are concentrated there now. We want to convert these companies into stock

corporations in which the arms manufacturers will be the shareholders. Small companies will be formed within the framework of large ones. MiG-Servis, Su-Servis and others, for example. The most painless reforming of the entire system of arms trading and military-technical cooperation could be secured in this way.

Federation Affairs

'Russia in the New World' Conference Opens

Kozyrev, Primakov View Changing Role

LD2602163192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Skripnikov and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The role of Russia in the international arena and its foreign policy development strategy in the next few years are the main themes of a practical scientific conference entitled: "Transformed Russia in the New World." The conference opened today. Taking part are scientists and diplomats, representatives of business and political circles, cultural workers and journalists: All those who can help the diplomacy of the fatherland to promote a more effective solution of the socio-economic tasks facing the country. This is the first time this sort of direct dialogue between Russian diplomats and the public has taken place. It confirms the line taken by the heads of the Russian Foreign Ministry toward openness of the country's foreign policy.

We need to define our interests in unbiased and realistic ways so that Russia can establish itself in the world as a normal great power, said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. "In the past, especially in the 20th century, our country was hostage to messianic ideals that overshadowed and erased national interests. The communist ideal led to expansion and heedless confrontation with the surrounding world, and foisted ideological models upon it." The new thinking was an inevitable step, the shock therapy necessary to break the old mentality. The present stage is bound, first and foremost, with our internal transformation, Kozyrev said. "We have made our choice. We have moved away from double standards, from the double entendre: Democracy, human rights, and not 'humane democratic socialism'; the market—a normal market—not a socialist one."

The head of the Russian foreign policy department stressed: Universality of democratic values does not mean general unification and the loss of national specifics. "We no longer intend to stray while searching for some sort of untrodden 'third way,' but we do not want to get dissolved in our new friends. Partnership and friendship by no means suggest that one should be oblivious to one's own geopolitical, economic, and other national interests. We will defend these in the tough world we live in, if we have to, and using harsh methods at that."

According to Yevgeniy Primakov, general director of Russia's foreign intelligence, the conference is intended to determine the basic parameters of Russian foreign policy. It is of importance for the foreign intelligence service, which is taking part in drawing up political decisions. Now there is movement away from the "cold war." This means protecting national interests by civilized methods.

Primakov thinks that it is in Russia's interests now to preserve a single economic, military-strategic space on the territory of the CIS. Not only is the departure from confrontation in keeping with the protection of national interests, but only such a symbiosis is possible as a basis for conducting foreign policy.

At the conference it was announced that on 25 February President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the basis of which "a personnel, structural, and political reform of the ministry in the interests of the transformation of Russia" will be carried out.

In Kozyrev's view, "the concept of the 'diplomatic detachment of the CPSU' has disappeared into the past along with the the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs." The minister declared: "In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there will be none of the signs of the apparatus regaining ground, such as have been noticed in the Russian leadership."

Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, took part in the conference, which was organized by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Further Kozyrev Comments

OW2602192292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Russia's foreign policy particular importance is attached to the forming of the CIS, said Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today, a few hours before his departure for Luanda, the first stage of his African tour. He spoke in Moscow at a seminar on Russia's role in the changing world.

According to A. Kozyrev, the forming of the CIS involves "our vital interests and fundamental issues connected with Russia's joining the civilized world".

Our interests in the CIS lie in a unified army, a conjugated economy, a unique cultural space and a common language, said the Russian Foreign Minister. The army should be stabilized, and maximal attention should be paid to the social needs of servicemen, he added.

A. Kozyrev resolutely called for protecting the rights of Russian-speakers, wherever they are infringed upon, "including the Baltic region". The interests of Muslims living in the Russian Federation are "an integral part of Russia's national interests", he said.

Primakov Explains Main Tasks

LD2602163692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] The main trait of Russia's foreign policy in the present decade will be a rejection of confrontation, said Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the republic's foreign intelligence service. He noted that this does not mean movement away from defending the country's national interests in the modern-day system of international relations.

Primakov regards ensuring the non-proliferation of vital technologies, combatting terrorism, and preventing regional conflicts from developing into global crises as the main tasks of intelligence. The director of the foreign intelligence service noted the need for a strategic military area to be preserved on the territory of the CIS. He stressed that the interests of the former Union republics are connected with Russia and that the trend of them moving closer will be seen in the future.

Khasbulatov Calls for 'Pragmatic' Policy

OW2602191992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov believes that the danger of nuclear arms proliferation has become quite tangible in international life today. It stems from a number of CIS countries which "inadequately understand commitments made by the former USSR when signing the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear arms".

The Speaker of Russia's parliament addressed today a seminar on Russia's role in the changing world. "A major task of Russia's foreign policy and diplomacy is to contribute to the efforts to create an efficient and dynamically developing economy", he said. This will enable Russia to take "a dignified place commanding respect in the world community". According to him, this aspect, "a weak point in the foreign policy of the former USSR, has failed to be "adequately reflected" in Russia's foreign policy so far. [quotation marks as received]

For Russia it's important to develop relations with the U.S., the European Community, Japan, China, India, Turkey and many other countries, R. Khasbulatov said. However these relations "should not overshadow ties with the former Soviet republics and with countries in Central and Eastern Europe". "Top priority should be given to relations with CIS members, then with countries adjoining them, and so on". R. Khasbulatov believes that this concept could serve to underlie Russia's "pragmatic policy" that would take into account geopolitical factors. Relations with Ukraine are of particular importance. It's necessary to establish between Moscow and Kiev "a perpetual and many-sided negotiating process monitored by experienced diplomats and politicians".

According to R. Khasbulatov, Russia should have relatively small, not burdensome to society, but by no means cheap armed forces capable of deterring aggressions against Russia and its allies. He also believes that Russia's armed forces should take part in peace-keeping operations under U.N. auspices.

Russia is to work out yet its own defence policy closely linked with its foreign policy. In view of the complexity of the situation in the CIS, it's expedient for Russia to form its own defence ministry, "possibly led by a competent civilian who enjoys prestige in the country", said R. Khasbulatov.

Khasbulatov Urges Own Defense Ministry

OW2602190292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov believes the republic should have its own defense ministry. He says the measure must be taken in view of the complicated situation in the CIS. Khasbulatov believes that the ministry could be led by competent and authoritative civilians.

Speaking at a seminar on Russia's new role in the world the Russian parliament's leader said Russia should formulate its own defense policy closely linked with its foreign policy.

Khasbulatov described the "enormous strategic potential that can guarantee security in the context of any conceivable reductions" as a means to implement Russia's foreign policy. Khasbulatov said that the Russian Parliament and he himself were very much concerned about the "under-estimation of that factor and superfluously pacifist emotions over the armed forces".

He said that Russia must have small armed forces (a no burden on society but by no means cheap ones) capable of deterring aggression against Russia and its allies [sentence as received]. Ruslan Khasbulatov believes that the Russian armed forces must take part in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Yeltsin Plans To Focus on Domestic Issues

OW2602184692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the Russian republic Boris Yeltsin has begun a round of intensive parliamentary

diplomacy in the run-up to the session of the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia opening on April 6. Russia's counsellor for cooperation with public associations Sergey Stankevich said in the wake of President Yeltsin's meeting with the leaders of parliamentary factions in the Kremlin on Wednesday [26 February] that activity would be stepped up.

Stankevich said that in the near future President Yeltsin would have more intensive talks in order to speed up the drafting of a federal treaty to be concluded by the republics of the Russian Federation. Yeltsin's commitment to the idea of such a treaty remains firm, Stankevich said. He pointed out that the question of the Russian Federation's new constitution was high on the agenda. President Yetlsin confirmed his intention to conclude the treaty in the first place with republics. However, a future status of Russia's various regions remained an important question requiring great attention.

Stankevich said that before the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation gathers the President will have three more meetings with the leaders of parliamentary parties. One would be devoted entirely to CIS affairs, another, to a new Constitution and the third, to the strategy of reforms.

The serious amendments to the President's working schedule are evidence of his intention to expand cooperation with parliament.

Sources close to the Russian President have said that Boris Yetlsin has ended a round of foreign visits necessary to promote the Russian Federation's activity in the international scene and to attract foreign investment.

Over the next few months Russia's home problems would enjoy priority. The President plans no foreign tours for that period.

You can find a detailed account of President Yeltsin's meeting with the leaders of parliamentary factions in Thursday's edition of PRESIDENTIAL BULLETIN.

Yeltsin Urges 'Social Peace' for 2 Years

LD2602141692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1130 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] An hour ago in the Kremlin a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and leaders of parliamentary factions from the republic's Supreme Soviet came to an end. Special correspondent Vera Shchelkunova has the details:

[Shchelkunova] This was the first of a series of meetings the president intends to hold with representatives of parliamentary factions prior to the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation in April. The meeting took place without the presence of the press. It lasted almost an hour and a half. Afterward the faction leaders stayed in the conference hall to discuss their affairs.

As soon as Sergey Stankevich, advisor to the president on political questions, exited, I asked him to give me some information for "Mayak" listeners.

[Begin recording] [Stankevich] The speech by Yeltsin noted the need for social peace for a minimum of two years. By social peace he meant rejection of or restraint in social conflicts and a moratorium on any abrupt action connected with either a change in the existing state organization of Russia or a change in the general course of reform. He called for the representatives of the parties from among the people's deputies to work in accordance with this [words indistinct]. He is ready to meet with and participate in the work of any forum that might be assembled on the eve of the congress [words indistinct].

[Shchelkunova] Did this idea meet with support?

[Stankevich] Yes, the idea met with support, but with certain reservations. There was quite a pointed discussion about the land question. The representative of the agrarian union criticized the presidential decree on land reform. In particular, in his view the decree is leading to the confiscation from peasants of up to two-thirds of the land they have traditionally been able to work. They are left with just one-third, and are given the opportunity to buy two-thirds. He considers this is an unfair position. That is his interpretation of the consequences of the decree.

Yeltsin did not agree with this interpretation, but expressed a readiness to listen to comments and suggestions, and agreed that the agrarian reform—comprehensive agrarian reform—must be accelerated. [end recording]

[Shchelkunova] Indeed, this was not the only awkward moment. I asked Sergey Stankevich whether there was any faction that totally supports the president and his government of reform. Yes, the counsellor said, Deputy Ponomarev from the Democratic Russia Movement is an example. He both expressed support for Yeltsin and demanded that the course of reforms not be abandoned.

I hope that we will hear other details today from those who participated in the meeting. For the time being, let me say that the Russian Federation president agreed with the representatives of factions on several more meetings to be held prior to the Congress of People's Deputies. One will be devoted entirely to the problems of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Russia's role within it, and another to the draft new constitution of the republic.

Minister Denies Government 'Experimenting'

LD2702092792 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 27 ITAR-TASS—Petr Aven, the Russian foreign economic minister, denied on

Thursday [27 February] accusations the Russian government "is experimenting" with economy, saying Russia is following the reforms in Poland, Israel and Argentina. "We are tring to do what others have done", he told the "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA".

The rate of money emission went down this January for the first time after 1985 and totalled 19 billion rubles compared to 23 billion last December, Aven disclosed. "And this went parallel with the introduction of free market prices", he added.

The Russian president did not make any serious concessions to other former Soviet republics which would dangerously affect the programme of reforms, according to the minister. Those political compromises, as well as "the sacrifice of certain economic interests", which Boris Yeltsin agreed to, are justified, he added.

Aven categorically opposes the introduction of a parallel currency in Russia. "Everywhere, where two types of currency were in circulation, there was an inflation", he stressed. The minister is confident that time will come and "we shall switch to a rigid ruble circulation". The Russian Government plans to ban all hard currency payments in Russia beginning this July.

The government is not planning to resign in the near future, according to Aven. "I am not going to resign, nor do my friends", he said.

Minister Nechayev Rules Out 'Concessions'

PM2602114092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Ivan Zhagel report: "The Government Will Not Make Concessions"]

[Text] A. Nechayev, who has just been appointed minister of the economy by a decree of the president, has held his first press conference.

Explaining the reasons for dividing the former Ministry of Economics and Finances into two separate departments, he noted that in fact it had not been united. It had not proved possible to unify previous Union ministries into one ministry and even holding ordinary collegiums turned into a problem.

But A. Nechayev dwelt in most detail on the immediate prospects of developing the economy. According to him, in a couple of months' time, we will run into a major recession. The point is that the price of end products has already practically reached its maximum. Whereas prices on raw materials will continue to grow if only because raw materials can be supplied abroad as well, and not only sold within the country. And in the face of this, the government will have to withstand strong pressure from enterprises, which will be demanding various financial concessions.

The government does not envisage such concessions today. At the moment, only measures such as the reduction of taxation on profit, which is aimed at developing production, are being viewed realistically. Admittedly, at present the government is still using direct budget subventions, but only for certain defense enterprises involved in conversion.

In answer to a question about whether the government is prepared to use force during strikes, literally or figuratively, the new minister of the economy noted that for the time being they are not going to arm themselves with water cannons, but they do not intend to make concessions either.

Committee Chairman on Privatization Plans

PM2602135192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the Russian State Property Committee, by I. Savvateyeva; place and date not given: "Anatoliy Chubays: Privatization Will Bring the Treasury 92 Billion"]

[Text] A large-scale privatization program is in the offing. And we, the average readers, have a mass of questions: How? When? And is it true that one can at last become the real owner of something at least? The chairman of the Russian State Property Committee answers many of these questions.

[Savvateyeva] Anatoliy Borisovich, don't you think that the Russian authorities have been dragging out the privatization program somewhat? A few days ago I heard the following story: A powerful lobby exists in the government representing the trade mafia, for whom destatization is akin to death.

[Chubays] We simply have some kind of national malaise: To seek hidden motives, somebody's selfish gain in any situation. But let us examine the facts. The government was formed in early November. It took two-three weeks simply to get down to business: Picking the right people, establishing contact with them, and setting them up in their various offices. But already on 29 December the privatization program had been ratified by presidential decree and a Supreme Soviet resolution. This is an exceptionally short time for the elaboration of a document of this status. Whether privatization should have been carried out before the liberalization of prices is another matter. Of course, this should have been done 18 months ago or, better still, three years ago. But these are questions which are nothing to do with the present government.

[Savvateyeva] Are you not intimidated by the prospect of privatizing such a tightly monopolized industry?

[Chubays] Theoretically, of course, it is better carry out demonopolization first.

But this cannot be resolved in either three or even in five years. (How much time, for instance, is needed to build a second Kama Truck Plant?) Of course, along the way we will create a special regime of taxation for monopoly structures and regulate their prices. We are also envisaging special privatization conditions for major monopolies, by which they will be broken up as far as possible. Decisions on the privatization of such monopolies will be made only at government level. The state will retain the controlling block of shares in such enterprises.

[Savvateyeva] The juridical basis for privatization is ready. But won't everything be held up on account of the absence of functionaries at local level?

[Chubays] Today property committees have been set up in every oblast center in Russia, and in 60-70 percent of rayon centers. A start has been made: There are seven, eight, or nine people working in every committee, and they are already sitting at their own desks.

[Savvateyeva] Suppose I want to own a factory or store. What do I need to do?

[Chubays] Let us start with the fact that anybody can apply for an enterprise to be privatized irrespective of whether he has the money to acquire that enterprise anyway. The applicant and the buyer can be different people. A very simple form of application is envisaged. A time limit of two weeks has been set for the examination of an application by the local committees. Rejection is only possible in two cases—if the enterprise appears on the list of facilities not liable to privatization, or if it simply does not exist at all. The list of enterprises not liable to privatization has been compiled. No organs of power have the right to enlarge it.

So you have filed an application and received the "okay." Next the privatization commission meets; this is composed of representatives of the property committee, the enterprise administration, local soviet deputies, financial organ specialists, and other interested people. This commission draws up a plan for privatization within a period of up to three months. This plan stipulates the form privatization is to take, the payment procedures (whether by installments or not), and certain other aspects. The forms of privatization may be: commercial competitive tender, flotation, or auction. The commission proposes one of these. The final choice is made by the local property committee (again within a fixed time limit). When the plan is finally confirmed, it is sent to the legislative privatization organ—the Property Fund. It is the fund, strictly speaking, which carries out the transformation, closing the state enterprise and opening, let us suppose, a joint-stock society.

[Savvateyeva] Now let us examine how state property will be distributed or sold.

[Chubays] All property is valued according to its residual book value. If the enterprise is sold by auction or through competitive tender, all the enterprise workers receive 10 percent of the sale proceeds (in the case of competitive tender, account is taken not only of the sum deposited by the buyer, but also the terms for the future operation of the facility).

If the enterprise is floated, 25 percent of the property (but not more than 20 times the average salary of a worker) is transferred free of charge to the labor collective in the form of preferred shares. The preference consists in the fact that in the event of the enterprise proving unprofitable or going bankrupt, owners of such shares are paid dividends and have the cost of the shares refunded on a preferential basis. However, preferred shares does not grant the owner voting rights or the right to control the running of the enterprise. The labor collective can buy up to a further 10 percent of shares at the nominal (initial, starting) value with a 30-percent reduction. In addition, it has the right to receive 10 percent of proceeds from any future sale of shares. If these funds are, in their turn, also invested in the purchase of shares, the enterprise workers could acquire a further 6 percent of the shares, with voting rights.

The administration is given an opportunity of buying up to 5 percent of the shares at nominal value. The point of this is to get the directors interested. They will only make tangible gains when the market price of the shares becomes significantly higher than the nominal price. And this is possible only in the event of high profitability.

The state, in addition to the labor collectives, is also to have a guaranteed percentage of the property. It will be granted 20 percent of the shares with voting rights. Finally, the remaining shares are to be sold to all comers at market price. If the enterprise is profitable with good prospects, the price of the shares could be significantly higher than the nominal price. In the case of a loss-making plant, the shares could be valued far lower than the nominal price.

[Savvateyeva] Anatoliy Borisovich, the privatization plan is being criticized on all sides. The fact that no transfer of enterprises to workers is envisaged is held against it especially often. This would have made matters quicker, simpler and fairer, opponents claim. What do you think about this?

[Chubays] Give plants and factories to workers? And what should be given to teachers, physicians, the military, and pensioners? It looks like one social group is trying to prosper at the expense of others. We are also accused of preparing a fiscal reform, trying to pump as many funds as possible into the budget. But after all, in the case of flotation, workers receive 25 percent of the shares free, and in the case of sale by auction they get 10 percent of the proceeds. All the same we do indeed lay down sale as the basic principle. But certainly not from fiscal considerations: The 92 billion rubles expected from privatization this year will not save the budget with its 450-billion deficit. That is not the point. I am deeply convinced that it is impossible to create a private property owner at the stroke of a pen. "Easy come, easy go,"

as the Russian proverb says. When a man lays out money from his own pocket for shares, he takes a very serious step: He is deliberately embarking on a new activity, and is ready to accept a certain responsibility.

And another point. I do not agree that during flotation the controlling block of shares, and consequently management control, should be handed over to the labor collective. A labor collective tends to use income not for long-term goals but for wages. Therefore no potential investor—native or foreign—will spend out on a plant whose labor collective retains a controlling block of shares.

[Savvateyeva] But where can ordinary people get the money to buy shares? They do not, as a rule, have sizeable savings, and the government has delayed the opening of personal privatization accounts until 1993...

[Chubays] We have been forced to put off the implementation of this idea for a whole year because our predecessors managed to do absolutely nothing for its materialization. Yes, I agree: It would be nice if... But it is not working out this way. The problems are purely technical. In effect, a second savings bank will have to be set up to service privatization accounts. Therefore, as in the case of prices liberalization, we were faced with a tough choice: Either we prepare a system of personal privatization accounts and postpone privatization for a significant period, or we launch the privatization program all the same and open personal accounts later. At the present time people can only rely on loans from commercial banks, and this means very high interest. We are conducting negotiations now with the Ministry of Finance and the State Bank, who are prepared to help. At the same time we are preparing urgent measures to open personal accounts not later than 1 October this year.

[Savvateyeva] But even in this case workers and pensioners will not be the main investors, will they?

[Chubays] This role will be mainly played by the category of the population connected with the non-state economy.

[Savvateyeva] This is what many people fear especially: It is said that all yesterday's "shady operators" and nouveaux riches, who made their capital in stock exchange and banking deals, will buy up everything. At the same time it seems to go without saying that nothing good will come as a result...

[Chubays] A negligible percentage of state property has been grabbed up by the notorious "privatization free-for-all." Has property been pilfered on the cheap? Strictly speaking, the valuation procedures can be deemed to have been violated only from the moment they are established. And the rules and procedures for property valuation—all this has only just appeared. Criminal business, connected with prostitution, drugs, and racketeering, should be prosecuted in the usual way: via the courts. I have no fears that financiers and brokers who invest money in property will bring about a slump. If an owner invests a million into production (irrespective of whether he earned the money in stock exchange operations, in trade, or in the production sphere) he is committed more than anyone to making this million work. And if the investor himself is not a specialist in the given production process, he will hire good specialists.

[Savvateyeva] Do you bank on support from foreign investors? Is there a real danger of the expansion of foreign capital?

[Chubays] A foreign investor could buy up our entire industry if he wanted. At the current exchange rate of the ruble, even a Western student, working in the summer vacation, could in principle acquire a whole plant. This is why we have quite deliberately included in the normative documents a series of administrative—bureaucratic, if you like - restrictions on foreign investors. But, to be frank, I am afraid that we will manage to attract no one. Foreign investors are worried not about tax concessions or the rate of value-added tax, but about political instability in the country. On the other hand, the investor cannot take a factory away with him. Our own people will work in it, receiving good wages. And the enterprise will pay tax to the Russian budget too.

[Savvateyeva] Privatization affects the most vital interests of various groups of the population. Are you under pressure in the process of preparing documents?

[Chubays] Constantly. The severest pressure. Regions oppose sectors, labor collectives oppose directors, and directors and labor collectives together oppose entrepreneurs. There are also parties pressuring from different sides. Our task is to make reasonable decisions, and not to be under the thumb of those who shout loudest.

[Savvateyeva] But won't one interest prevail ultimately—the interest of the functionary who is in the privatization "saddle"? Won't corruption pervert the essence and logic of privatization and won't all your reforms turn into a farce at best, and a tragedy at worst?

[Chubays] The very procedures for privatization envisaged in the normative documents reduce the functionary's opportunities to a minimum. After all, what is the main danger here? That functionaries will channel property to "their" people. The penalty for abuses will be dismissal. We will not stop even at open court examinations. I think that the remuneration system will also restrain property fund officials from bribe-taking. The funds will not be financed through the budget; they will be allocated 4.5 percent of the revenue generated in the course of privatization. The functionaries themselves will not want to drag things out with red tape.

[Savvateyeva] When can we expect the first tangible results from privatization?

[Chubays] According to our estimates, 20-25 percent of state property will be brought into privatization this year, and up to 60-70 percent in individual sectors (trade and consumer services, for example). Moreover, we

intend to privatize trade and the services sphere as early as the first quarter. I think that one of the most important consequences of privatization in the near future (approximately by the middle of this year) could be major and irreversible changes in the exchange rate of the ruble. But the most important thing will be the first hundreds of thousands of people who will for the first time in our history become private property owners on an absolutely legal basis.

Poltoranin, Media Leaders Discuss Decree

PM2702090892 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Irina Demchenko article: "The 'Fourth Estate' Must Become a Power"]

[Text] A meeting of leaders of the mass news media with M. Poltoranin, Russian Government vice premier and press and information minister, was held at the IZVESTIYA editorial office 25 February. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of questions pertaining to the decree "On Additional Measures of Legal and Economic Protection for the Periodical Press and State Book Publishing" which was signed a few days ago by Russia's president.

The publication of this document was preceded by a concentrated campaign in the press in the course of which millions of readers were told how the mass media, having actively and unambiguously advocated a swift transition to the market, have now become the first, although clearly not the last, victims of the present pseudomarket in the conditions of an extremely monopolized and corrupt post-socialist economy. In late February or early March many of them, ending up on the brink of bankruptcy in connection with the sharp rise in the prices of newsprint and distribution services, have already been forced to change the mode of their publication, and also to examine the possibility of renewing subscription for the second half of the year.

The decree—awaited with shamefaced impatience by the mass press, and with envious indignation by the commercial press—introduces subsidies and certain other concessions, and in effect establishes a state order for newsprint for—and I quote—"journals and newspapers published in accordance with programs approved by the Russian Federation Press and Information Ministry." This wording immediately gave rise to rumors about the existence of "blacklists" of some kind and split the mass media into allegedly "acceptable" and "unacceptable" ones as far as the Russian authorities are concerned.

Brushing aside possible misgivings as regards favoritism (which will nonetheless remain, of course), M. Poltoranin declared that the list of newspapers and journals to which the privileges will apply is to be drawn up by a public council which will include, in addition to ministry representatives, staffers of the mass media themselves and of their professional organizations. According to the vice premier, the government, which for entirely understandable reasons does not want to be solely responsible for the selection of candidates for state support, nonetheless believes that this list should include publications which have traditionally made up Russia's information field. That means "heavy" journals like NOVYY MIR, YUNOST, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, and INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, magazines like RABOTNITSA and ZDOROVYE, and also past and present budget-financed newspapers. Applications for support are turned down only in the case of purely commercial and "sex" publications, to use Poltoranin's term. However, even before the public council gets down to work, it is clear that, as always, there will not be enough cake to go round: According to the calculations of the Russian Press Ministry the requirement for subsidies totals more than 60 billion rubles [R], but even without subsidies the decree will result in a "gap" of R11.5 billion. For the time being provision has not been made in the Russian Federation budget for either.

An especially tricky aspect of the question is that the mass press, having lost its material independence during the transitional period, does not wish to give up its independence when it comes to ethics. At the same time representatives of the organs of power are not always prepared to show understanding when criticism of them is financed out of money which they themselves have allocated. According to M. Poltoranin, it was no accident that the decree took around two months to draw up and thrash out, and that he had to collect a great number of government apparatus staffers' signatures to the draft so that they would have no grounds to subsequently raise obstacles. However, even so he was unable to rule out the possibility that journalists may, if necessary, be mobilized "to bring pressure to bear" on certain Russian bureaucrats, which in itself speaks volumes both about the mood within the government apparatus and its relations with the press.

Despite the fact that the Russian leadership, as the formal legal successor of union organs of power, has accepted responsibility for the future fate of former official publications of the USSR, it cannot be assumed that it will be possible solely with its assistance to resolve all the problems pertaining to the mass media. Questions of the upkeep and status of correspondents working outside Russia, the delivery of newspapers and journals to other independent states and their distribution there, and the provision of transport and communication facilities require settlement on an intergovernmental basis, and the problem of the maintenance of foreign correspondent bureaus in general will depend on the creditworthiness of the CIS as a whole.

The conference revealed that the leaders of the news media, while not yet regarding themselves as a full-fledged "fourth estate," are in any case working toward this. They have, for the first time for such a big collective with such varied views, succeded in elaborating a single viewpoint on many issues, both tactical and strategic. Apart from the incompatibility of their readership's

world outlook, mentality, and size, the mass media have found out that they have common problems, and this enables them to formulate a unified policy in respect of the three other institutions of power—the legislative, executive, and judiciary.

Decree on Stabilizing Enterprise Performance

PM2602162192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 1

["Decree of the President of the Russian Federation 'On Measures To Stabilize the Performance of Russian Federation Industry in 1992'"]

[Text] In view of the sharp decline in industrial production as a result of the disruption of established economic ties, the intensified influence of monopolist enterprises on industrial performance, and the situation on the market, and with the aim of stabilizing enterprises' performance, I decree:

1. That with the aim of safeguarding supplies of output and goods for republic state needs and the fulfillment of intergovernmental agreements on trade and economic cooperation with CIS member-states it is deemed necessary to preserve in this sphere the economic ties which were in operation in 1991.

2. Special regulations are to be introduced in 1992 with respect to the economic activity of enterprises and organizations responsible for monopolist activities, including demands for reciprocal deliveries of goods and services and payment in foreign currency for goods supplied.

It is to be laid down that the special regulations with respect to the economic activity of these enterprises comprise:

Mandatory restoration of established economic ties;

Introduction at these enterprises of state control on prices and mandatory distribution of output;

Introduction with respect to monopolist enterprises of mandatory deliveries of part of their output to state stocks at state-controlled prices (with the aim of using these resources to stabilize the domestic market);

Suspension of quotas and licenses for the export of output;

Discontinuation of all types of state support, including subsidies and preferential credits;

Severance of contracts with managers of state enterprises and organizations;

Reorganization of enterprises that abuse their monopoly position in the market.

3. The work of the Russian Federation Government Commission for Operational Control of Resource Supply, which was established by Russian Federation Presidential Decree No. 270 dated 4 December 1991, is to be extended through 1992.

Ye.Ye. Karpel (Russian Federation Economics Ministry Price Committee), V.M. Mashchitsa (Russian Federation State Committee on Economic Cooperation With Commonwealth Member-States), S.Yu. Glazyev (Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Committee for Foreign Economic Ties), and Yu.I. Burlinov (Russian Federation State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for New Economic Structures) are to be coopted onto this commission.

The commission is instructed, after coordination with the Russian Federation Supreme Arbitration Court, to submit proposals to the Russian Federation Government on the procedure for applying the special measures regulating the activity of monopolist enterprises.

4. The Russian Federation Currency and Economic Council is instructed to examine questions connected with the purchase in 1992 of imported raw materials, materials, equipment, and spare parts, and also food and essential nonfood goods with a view to safeguaring the operation of the base sectors of industry and meeting the populations' requirements.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation

Moscow, the Kremlin, 20 February 1992. No. 165

Yeltsin Aide Drafts New Conversion Policy

OW2502151192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin's adviser Mikhail Maley told the opening session of the first congress of Arab businessmen in Moscow on Tuesday [25 February] that Russia's military-industrial complex, far from curtailing the manufacture of arms and military hardware, will be building it up. He said this approach reflected this country's new concept of "economic conversion" based of the principles of self-financing.

Gorbachev's concept of conversion, adopted in the mid-1980s, had partially destroyed the former USSR's defense potential and failed to yield the desired effect, Haley said.

Proceeds from the sale of weapons would be re-invested in the munitions industry's conversion to civilian production—a process expected to take no less than four years, Maley said and added that Russia's plan to increase the production of defensive weapons would be in full compliance with international law. The Russian military- industrial complex would stay on its old weapon markets and seek access to new ones after COCOM, as well as the United States and other countries lifted their restrictions on trade with Russia.

According to Maley, the concept of "economic conversion" would first be tested in Udmurtia, a republic within the Russian Federation (Ural Mountains), where defense sector production accounts for 86% of the economic potential. In order to attract foreign capital, the Udmurt government intends to provide considerable tax benefits, make the registration of firms and their affiliates as simple as possible, and adopt a Swiss-model banking system. At present, Udmurtia manufactures Kalashnikov submachine- guns, anti-aircraft artillery and radar equipment. M. Maley invited Arab entrepreneurs to take part in conversion processes in Russia.

Parties Plan Joint Conference for 15 Mar

LD2602150992 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow February 26—The Democratic Party of Russia and the People's Party of Free Russia plan a joint conference to work out a common stand on the destiny of Russian statehood. Yevgeniy Malkin, deputy chairman of the Political Council of the Democratic Party of Russia, and Pyotr Fedosov, member of the board of the People's Party of Free Russia, told a news conference in the House of Soviets on Wednesday [26 February] that the conference will be held on March 15 in Moscow. Representatives of the two parties, determining the parties' place among Russian political forces, said that the parties favour a strong Russian state and are on the position of civilised patriotism.

Leaders of the two parties believe that the latest developments have determined a new alignment of political forces. The attitude to national and state structure will be used by them as the criterion in forming alliances.

The sponsors of the conference say they are not seeking to create another "movement to save Russia". An organising committee to prepare a broader forum of political and civic forces open for cooperation to all centrists will possibly be formed as a result of the conference, Fedosov told ITAR-TASS.

Both parties reject the possibility of cooperation with the "national-patriotic bloc". The participants in the news conference described the recently formed Russian People's Assembly as an "artificial formation". However, they believe that there is a possibility of cooperation with some right-of-centre forces included in the Russian People's Assembly. In any case, Malkin said that the Democratic Party of Russia does not want to break with its partners in the "popular accord" bloc—the Constitutional Democratic Party and the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, and hopes to preserve the bloc.

Fedosov said that the idea of convening a conference of the two parties was supported by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy leader of the National Party of Free Russia, and that he will participate in it.

Republican Party Not To Attend

LD2702091692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian Republican Party will not take part in the joint conference of the Democratic Party of Russia and the Free Russia People's Party, which is planned for 15 March. This was stated by Igor Yekavenko, one of the republican leaders. According to him, this decision was brought about by the unrealistic political aims of Travkin's Democratic Party, especially its desire to re-establish the USSR. Igor Yekavenko stressed that the Republican Party could have common objectives with the other democratically-orientated political forces. He sees the only obstacle in this process in the personal ambitions of political leaders.

Yeltsin Called Upon To Aid Democratic Movement

OW2702002292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The democratic movement in Russia didn't strengthen after the August coup, just the opposite, it weakened, the Co-chairman of the Republican party of the Russian Federation Vladimir Lysenko said at a press conference Wednesday [26 February]. "The hope that two strong movements would be created—Democratic Russia and the Movement for Democratic Reform—which would become the basis of the new Russian government, correcting its course and serving as a link with the people wasn't realized", he said.

Lysenko said the causes of this are, on the one hand, a split in the leadership of "Democratic Russia" into radicals and moderates and on the other hand the "Movement of Democratic Reform" turned into a one man party run by Gavriil Popov as a result of administrative games. Lysenko criticized the Moscow Mayor and said that "after the events of February 23 the Mayor's popularity sank even lower". Lysenko called the Mayor's idea on holding elections of people's deputies on all levels reactionary because parliament would become even more reactionary as "all the Makashovs, Zhirinovskiis, and the whole team which is gaining more votes on the street".

The co-chairman of the Republican party expressed concern that "now the national-patriotic post-communist structures will gain influence. This will create a vacuum between the President, the Russian government, and society which chooses whether to support reforms".

"The time has come for Yeltsin to help the democratic movement as it helped him earlier", the deputy stated.

Accounts of 'CPSU's Billions' Detailed

PM2602123192 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Let's Look At Each Other In A Proper Party Fashion"]

[Text] According to figures supplied by the Russian Prosecutor's Office investigation group looking into the CPSU's financial activity, the party central apparatus accounts currently hold:

In rubles [R]: 6,091,173,703.19
In freely convertible currency: 12,519,239.33 in foreign-currency rubles
In U.S. dollars: $14,182,214.25 (in cash)

And the ruble accounts are held as follows:

At state banks—R3,197,569,206.19
At commercial banks—R1,450,378,807.77
At joint, small, and other commercial structures—approximately R756,125,000
At the All-Army Party Committee: R687,100,689

Under the Russian Government resolution of 4 January 1992, most of these funds should be transferred to special extrabudgetary accounts and then, on orders of the Ministry of Social Security, channeled into providing aid for orphans and invalids, and into other social protection measures for children.

Almost two months have passed since then. The government resolution is not being implemented: The special accounts have not been opened, and the CPSU's billions—despite all the investigators' efforts—are still frozen.

Official on Anti-Monopoly, Value-Added Tax

LD2602150292 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow February 26 TASS—Russia will soon introduce a progressive tax on enterprises with the profitability rate exceeding 50 per cent, Igor Lazarev, head of the Russian Federation fiscal service, told a news conference on Wednesday [26 February].

Lazarev said the new measure "will effectively introduce an anti-monopoly tax preventing enterprises from raising prices." However, Lazarev could not tell the exact rate because, he said, it was not finalised yet.

The news conference heard that over the first one month and a half Russia's state fiscal service collected some 100 billion rubles, as was roughly forecasted.

Replying to a question by the ITAR-TASS correspondent, Lazarev said the government was considering lowering the value added tax, which currently stands at 28 per cent. According to the minister, it can be 20 per cent at most.

Lazarev also said the government reduced this tax to 15 per cent on some types of foodstuffs and lifted it altogether on some of the foodstuffs.

Lazarev also stressed the need for additional social and legal guarantees for the 60,000-strong workforce of the Russian fiscal service and called for increasing "the amount of sanctions for tax evasion."

Officials Cited From 15 Feb Reform Conference

PM2602150192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 92 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report under the "Breakthrough" rubric: "People Continue To Believe in Reforms and Reformers. From the Conference of Leaders of Russian Federation Soviets"]

[Text] The progress of economic reform, the problem of modifying it after the initial stage, and the population's situation under the liberalization of prices were discussed in St. Petersburg 15 February. The conference was addressed by the following speakers: R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; S. Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; A. Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government in charge of social policy issues; and A. Chubays, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property.

Many who attended took part in the exchange of opinions. In particular, Yu. Yarov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, briefed deputies in detail on the measures which the Supreme Soviet leadership deemed it essential and urgent to take to protect the poor strata of the population during the first stage of economic reform and the initial period of price liberalization. St. Petersburg Mayor A. Sobchak was sharply criticial in his analysis of the government's activity in preparing the economic reforms. Representatives of the regions shared their ideas on essential measures to modify the reform after the first six weeks of its implementation.

We offer for our readers' attention abridged versions of certain speeches given at the conference.

[R.I. Khasbulatov] During these difficult times, when large-scale changes are under way, we should meet more often, offer one another advice, share experience, and analyze the actual situation.

The creative forces in society have displayed and are displaying in these trying conditions strength and unity while implementing reform and transformations. In my journeys around the regions I have seen for myself that, despite the overall deterioration in people's situation,

people continue to believe in the reforms and the reformers and very much pin their hopes on us all. You will also see something else: Whatever disputes there may be concerning conceptual approaches, there are in general no opponents to, no people rejecting, the strategic course. Provided, of course, you discount the out-and-out reactionaries. In my view, substantial changes in the very system of thinking are under way.

However, in conditions where the breeding ground for the creation of a lumpen class is expanding, different kinds of demagogue from both ultraright and ultraleft are on the increase. These extremes are rapidly coming together. And, in these conditions of completely understandable contradictions, ill-considered actions by officials (sometimes important ones) are especially dangerous. These actions have a substantial impact upon the whole of society. Life has shown that experienced people with a good knowledge of their job are needed in every sector. Professionalism, experience, and expertise should be the deciding principle when selecting people. And when we complacently appoint and promote people, relying on the factor of, say, personal loyalty—which, unfortunately, is becoming a tragic feature—including at the federal level of management, this could be the undoing of us all.

Moreover, we are worried by the problem of the soviets. We face attempts to belittle the role of the soviets. Sometimes top officials venture anticommunist remarks about the soviets being a spent force. What do these people intend? To create local dictatorial executive regimes instead of soviets? To do without representative organs of power altogether? If this is really what people want, then all that we are doing by way of fighting for democracy and a democratic society is worthless.

That we should be thinking about how to transform the soviets and enhance their effectiveness is another matter. Municipalizing the soviets at a single level, say, is pretty tricky, but it is at the same time a strategic task.

We should simultaneously be thinking about strengthening executive power. Let us dispense with declaring war on executive organs of power at all levels. But can you really describe St. Petersburg as fortunate in this respect? I know that the mayor has certain characteristics which make people want to oppose him. But I also know that the city soviet takes it upon itself to review every mayoral decision. How, in these conditions, can the mayor run such a huge city if his every decision is put under the microscope. And everything is examined from the standpoint of whether it should be rescinded or not. That, of course, is intolerable.

People in Tomsk Oblast have declared war on the Supreme Soviet. It is alleged that we do not obey the laws. It is surely incomprehensible that we should attempt to play old man Makhno (N.I. Makhno, leader of anarchist movement in Ukraine 1918-1921) and thus undermine our own influence, is it not?

The rapid decline in the authority of power altogether is yet another consequence of this internecine struggle: After all, many people are indifferent as to whether there be soviets in one place or a mayor and executive power in another. In their eyes we all represent state power. And when we present them with these countless public spectacles, you and I shatter power in the process. This poses a huge danger to the state. And all of us—from top state officials down to rural soviet level—must understand this.

But state power must be strengthened on democratic principles, by means of the intelligent combination of executive, representative, and judicial power so that every branch has a clear and legal right to furnish legislation.

We live in want of a constitution. The constitution we have is the constitution of the republics that made up the USSR. There is now a very acute need for a Basic Law of Russia. You will know that a draft Constitution exists. But it still needs work to be done on it. The republics have many questions. But on the whole it seems to me that we will be able to reach a common standpoint once we have smoothed out these natural conflicts.

Concerning economic reform... In creating a common framework for the legal system, the Supreme Soviet is seeking to exercise control over the actions of the executive organs of power. That is the Supreme Soviet's constitutional duty. But, it has to be acknowledged that this is now a pretty difficult thing to do, because a really gigantic bureacratic mechanism has formed in the Federation's executive organs in a short space of time. The laws of the Supreme Soviet and the decrees of the president himself are actually being buried and distorted here. A kind of self-sufficient system has taken shape, one which is completely isolated from the country and the people, one which is self-consoling and sows its own illusions, one which sets its own tasks, tackles them on its own, and then reports back to itself. This arrogance on the part of the bureacratic force is really overwhelming. We are very worried by this state of affairs.

And this colossal mechanism cannot manage without disputes and political intrigue. Attempts are being made to embroil the Supreme Soviet in these disputes and to split it.

This causes alarm. And it hampers work. I think that such a state of executive power has led to major miscalculations in the implementation of economic reform. What, then, has emerged? First, the limited potential of the reform, its bureaucratic [kabinetnyy] nature, its divorce from real life. Unfortunately, the freeing of prices did not become the force which could really set the state monopoly economy in motion. No matter how much specialists criticized the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program, it did nevertheless envisage the unification of structural sectors in implementing the reform, which could have set our whole economy in motion and at the same time implemented the land reform.

Therefore, I never tire of repeating that the direction of movement needs to be modified. This is inevitable, if only because structural reform has been completely neglected. And if we fail to expand the consumer sector of the economy, no reforms will yield any success. And what does the sharp reduction in capital input and of investments in the regions—which ensure society's viability—mean? We are living only for the present. This alone shows that the shapers of such policy only think about the present while intending, as it were, to remain in executive power tomorrow and the day after. It is a good thing that both the government and the president have recognized what we have been insisting upon of late—modification of the reforms has become inevitable and is objectively warranted..

It is necessary only to start up the new stage of economic reform more quickly. The first thing to do as part of the reform is organize the regulating role of the state. The state's regulating role should undoubtedly grow.

The position of parliament and the position of the president are that land should have an owner. But this does not mean—and we are in full agreement with the president here—that the aim of the reform is to break up the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, particularly those which work well, as quickly as possible. We are not questioning the existence of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, be reassured on that score, but land reform must be resolutely carried out. Private farms must be strengthened.

[A. Shokhin] You now often come up against two assessments of the past stage of reform. The first holds that something irreparable has occurred (some people even employ terms like economic genocide and an experiment performed on the people) and we must go into reverse. This is not the predominant opinion. But the sociopolitical situation in the country is being inflamed.

The second assessment is that reform is being rolled back and that the modifications which the government and the Supreme Soviet are jointly making indicate a scaling down of the program for financial stabilization and overall economic liberalization. That too is an exaggeration.

Of course, we are aware that it is better to carry out the liberalization of prices after structural reforms, after privatization and demonopolization. We have now put ourselves in a desperate situation, where we are forced to carry out reforms of the system rapidly: To privatize the economy, to implement measures to demonopolize it, and to carry out land reform. We now find ourselves in a situation where we are already, as it were, in the middle of the river, having already swum midway. It makes no sense whatsoever to turn back, it is better to swim to the other bank.

As far as the negative results of the first stage of the reform are concerned, the prime one is the drop in output. This was also a predictable result. But that does not make it any easier. The drop in industrial output in January was recorded at the level of 15 percent, but, according to macroeconomic indicators, it is at least 5 percent higher.

Credit policy: The Central Bank is now pursuing a policy of tightening credit agreed with the government. This tough credit policy is really becoming the main factor in financial stabilization. But, on the other hand, we do not regard financial stabilization as an end in itself, and of course, in the very near future, we will have to make certain exceptions. This concerns the upcoming sowing season and the granting of credit to private farmers and agricultural enterprises. This also concerns the conversion of the defense industry—and here it will be necessary to make certain financial transfusions to prevent such a social problem as unemployment.

If we are talking about the dynamics of prices, then, without indulging in overoptimism, I should say that prices have, for example, fallen for certain goods: In Belgorod meat has come down from 83 rubles [R] to R61 and in St. Petersburg from R94 to R79; butter in Krasnoyarsk has fallen from R249 to R227 and in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk from R266 to R246; while eggs in Novosibirsk are down from R20 to R15.

Of course this fall in prices is taking place against a very high level of prices, and therefore we are only talking about a trend in, rather than the success of, the reforms. But this trend has already emerged, and it is important to prevent a second inflationary spiral. This can be achieved if we check credit and incomes, including that of the population, and do not allow these incomes to rise to the level of prices. We must beat prices down—that is the more important task.

I should say that the first signs of this are already appearing and that store shelves are being restocked. It is essential to break the monopoly structures, particularly in trade. The commercialized and privatized trade outlets offer lower prices than state stores, and in many regions of the country the markets are selling goods at lower prices than state stores. This is a good marker and we are proposing right now—this is envisaged in the Decree on Freedom of Trade—to lift restrictions on the trade markup for commercialized and private stores to provide a boost to rapid privatization in this sphere.

You will well recall that as of 1 January measures were taken to roughly double the population's basic forms of income.

But I do have to acknowledge that in our country, because of the decisionmaking mechanisms and the means for implementing decisions, it is impossible to provide our population with advance social protection against the new prices. It is not the government's fault, for example, that it takes roughly two months on average for pensions to be recomputed. Such are the capacities, the capacities of local social welfare organs, which employ manual rather than computer techniques of calculation.

We were already running a cash shortage of around R14 billion in December. This was due not just to the fact that the printing presses were overloaded. The problem was that in many regions of the country goods were not being sold in December—people were waiting for the liberalization of prices. Large amounts of goods were stockpiled, and, thanks to the soft-credit policy, enterprises were able to survive without selling their goods. The situation is now perceptibly changing. Selling is beginning, credit is tightening up, and it may be hoped the cash crisis will be overcome. Let us switch to banknotes of R1000 or perhaps even higher denomination.

According to our estimates, the subsistence income in January was roughly R550. We are ready to make a R200 compensation payment to minimum pensions. And based on this minimum pension, we can also have a guideline for computing the minimum wage.

[Question] The liberalization of prices has led to a 20-30 percent contraction of the consumer market in some places. According to the conclusions of experts, a privatization scheme which first starts by privatizing retail trade also results in a further contraction of the consumer market. Given this, how should the government conduct itself? A contracted market is, after all, a greater misfortune than even rising prices.

[A. Shokhin] I cannot agree with you altogether that the privatization scheme proposed by the government will lead to a further contraction of the consumer market. We consider that privatization should help ensure that all available resources are released into the consumer market.

[Question] You have placed us in a confrontational position vis-a-vis the population. Will there be a Russian social protection program for the population which embraces all categories? Bread is now becoming one of the basic foodstuffs for the poor strata of the populaton. We have set fixed prices for bread and freed prices for flour, and the question that now rises is how to maintain this correlation? To maintain this in the Maritime Kray, for example, requires R650 billion. Where is it to come from?

[A. Shokhin] We are discussing with the IMF a program for further liberalization of prices. Our colleagues are insisting that the following step be taken: Fixed prices are to be maintained solely on the output of monopoly sectors, namely communications, the power industry, and rail transport. While the rest are to be freed, including sources of energy, and help is to be given to specific groups of the population through social provision funds and targeted financial assistance. We are discussing these questions, we do not have a definitive list of goods whose prices will be free, although we do realize that we will be able to remove distortions only in this way rather than by expanding the list of fixed prices.

[R. Khasbulatov] The Supreme Soviet leadership has a quite opposite standpoint on these questions. We consider that it is esssentially wrong to attempt to satisfy all the IMF's requirements. Such programs are geared to certain IMF clients—the developing countries. Here the IMF has always proceeded and continues to proceed on the basis that it is essential to ensure the return of the sums of money granted. Nothing dreadful will occur, it is said, if half the population dies, but the overall tough financial policy ensures they get the requisite sums returned.

These IMF plans are unacceptable to our country. And the specialists themselves, apart from Jeffrey Sachs, who inexplicably became a government consultant, consider that you must first examine them and then consult on what they will and will not yield. I have conversed with IMF executives. Even without satisfaction of these tough terms, they are prepared to cooperate to ensure our membership of the fund. And I will tell you frankly that the Supreme Soviet will firmly uphold its stance vis-a-vis the IMF. What is more, why do the government and the Supreme Soviet sometimes duplicate each other and why does misunderstanding occur? This happens because when a Supreme Soviet session is held half the government attends. There is a presidium on, please attend. But when a government session is on, it is a closely guarded secret. And wherever there is a secret, there is generally something dishonest involved. Otherwise, why hide?

The Supreme Soviet does not know according to which decrees or resolutions the government operates... For me, as head of parliament, the appearance of each decree is a surprise. And often an unpleasant one. Is this really acceptable?... And whence such secrecy?

I would ask the Supreme Soviet and the government to treat local organs of power with more respect.

[A. Chubays] It is very often suggested that the carrying out of privatization after the liberalization of prices and the carrying out of privatization before demonopolization or, at any rate, independent of it, are a gross error of the government economic program.

From the theoretical standpoint, it would have been correct to carry out the privatization program not on 1 January 1992, as we did, but at least between one and four years earlier. In that case we would have had a different situation today, and the liberalization of prices would not have been so painful. However, the government works in the conditions in which it finds itself. Therefore the government's primary and most urgent measures were manifested in liberalization, which was initially scheduled for 15 December, but came to pass on 1 January. The same applies to the privatization program. The government, which was appointed by the president mid-November, prepared the key documents on privatization in the shortest time possible (during the second half of November and December), which made it possible from the beginning of this year to prepare the conditions for the launch of the process of privatization.

Life dictates the sole possible way to act—liberalization and privatization in the shortest possible time. These two key planks, these two basic components of the government program, were launched from the start of this year.

The third component, which has been much talked about here, is financial recovery. It has been talked about, as you will have heard, in both a negative and a positive sense. And you pretty often encounter the opinion that the government has been too carried away by fiscal regulators, has stifled the spirit of enterprise and state enterprises by taxes, and that it is essential to change this policy, switching from fiscal priorities to those which provide incentive to production.

It can be said unequivocally that these sorts of idea are completely untenable. The point is that there are objective laws operating in the economy which no one is able to change. They consist in the fact that if the financial system is not working in an economy, it is just like the circulation system in a human organism not working.

We are criticized for assessing January's results too optimistically. Let us examine where this optimism stems from. The government is satisfied on the whole with the way reform proceeded in January. This does not mean that we are satisfied with the entire situation in the economy. This optimism is bound up precisely with the fact that in the financial part of the program, which is the main prerequisite for growth in the economy, the situation in January developed on the whole according to a favorable scenario. This also relates to the fact that the overall level of increase in consumer prices for January was 3.5 times up on December, as has already been stated here, while we were warned that it would be 5, 10, or 15 times higher than in December. This was not the case...

On the whole the revenue section of the budget in January managed to produce one-third of the quarter's plan, which is of fundamental importance. To be honest, this was something difficult to hope for.

It is clear to everyone that we will have to make certain modifications to economic policy. The government has this under consideration.

In January we withstood on the whole the shock on the consumer market. It is now necessary to be prepared for an even severer shock—for the fact that all the difficulties which we experienced on the consumer market in January are now switching from the sphere of the consumer market to the sphere of manufacturing industrial-engineering goods. In February we are confronting a situation which is totally new to us, with dozens of enterprises under threat of closure not because they have been undersupplied with components or raw materials, but because the consumers who acquired their products are unable to pay for them. This is a very grave situation, one which is only just starting. It will in point of fact be the main question in government economic policy in the second half of February and March.

It must be remembered that, for all the gravity of the situation, this is the only way to make the production sector of our economy think about reducing prices and the scope it has for improving efficiency, to make it consider selling off that part of its fixed capital which is surplus to current requirements and thereby give itself a boost during the second stage, which is extremely necessary.

At the same time it is clear that we must not overdo things and that an overrigid financial policy in the industrial-engineering sphere could mean the demise of production for financial reasons alone.

It is clear that privatization is assigned a key role in this package of questions.

As soon as the documents appeared and the actual process of privatization started up, vigorous discussion of the contents of the documents immediately ensued. In some instances this discussion assumes the form of political pressure.

The first and most frequently discussed question here is about the fact that it would be necessary to transfer a large package of shares to labor collectives—or, even better—simply transfer a controlling block into their hands. This is an approach with which we disagree in principle. I will explain why. There are a whole series of reasons familiar to economists which demonstrate that any enmterprise in the hands of a labor collective instantly changes its orientation. When a collective tackles the question of how to allocate R1 million of profit—whether to spend it on new equipment, new technology, new construction work, reconstruction, the modernization of production or, on the other hand, spend these funds on wages, the choice is always made in favor of the latter. This is a law which, unfortunately, is already being unambiguously demonstrated by economic life. Therefore it is necessary to clearly understand that if today we transfer ownership to labor collectives free of charge, this means that today we will be completely undermining the state of our economy of tomorrow.

Moreover, it is well known that for investors—both at home and abroad—the paramount question is who holds the controlling block of shares. If you say to a foreign investor: We invite you to invest 1 million in this enterprise which will produce a large income for you, and at the same time say that the controlling block is not and will never be in his hands, but is held by the labor collective, this means a complete stop to additional input into and additional investments in the enterprise.

We cannot allow ourselves today to shut off the flow of investments, the flow of capital into our enterprises. That would be tantamount to thoroughly undermining everything in our national economy within two-three years, let alone the longer term.

At the same time we are perfectly well aware that it is necessary to create conditions whereby real owners can arise. And these conditions are precisely to be found in our documents.

No distribution of property free of charge is to be found in our documents, but the documents do create preconditions enabling anyone who is ready for this to achieve it. That is the approach contained in this part of the privatization program.

At the same time it must not be forgotten that the solution of the question of personal privatization deposit accounts has been postponed for the time being. It was deferred—as the State Committee for the Management of State Property has explained many times, because of the complete lack of technical preparedness and because of the organizational aspect of the matter—to November-December, when we began examining it. The program lays down that personal privatization deposit acccounts will be opened 1 January 1993.

There is another major question which is being energetically discussed. The program contains a whole section on restrictions for foreign participants in privatization. All foreign participants, whether they be from Britain, France, Armenia, Kazakhstan, or Azerbaijan—it makes no difference—are regarded as such under Russian legislation. All of them, for exampie, are prevented under our program from taking part in auctions for stores (they are simply prevented), they are allowed to take part only in special investment tenders. There are other restrictions which operate, and we intend to strictly monitor this. That is the main point. Moreover, it is perfectly clear that everything else (I am thinking of the attempts to deny them access here by other means) will simply result in, as has already been said, the process disappearing into the semilegal or illegal sphere, and it will be completely impossible to extricate it from there. That is why in this respect the State Committee for the Management of State Property supports the law and deems it inadvisable to modify it at this stage. However, we do not intend to reject what happens in real life.

And there are other frequently encountered objections or comments regarding the privatization plan. Some regions say that the privatization targets are too high.

But at the same time we do appreciate that these targets could be inaccurate in respect of some regions. If such a conviction exists, you simply have to prepare validated figures and show why these targets cannot be met in your region. We are ready to examine these calmly in the normal course of business and reach an agreed alternative solution without rejecting the actual ideology of privatization.

How is the situation regarding the implementation of these documents progressing on the whole? It has to be said that a very energetic process is now under way in local committees for property in preparing privatization programs, which will be confirmed in the very near future. On the whole we are satisfied with the way in which privatization programs have been prepared and adopted and, indeed, with the transition to their implementation.

Although at the same time certain quite abnormal situations do exist, whereby Tomsk Oblast Soviet deemed it possible to make the decision that the presidential decree does not operate on its territory, while another document, one drawn up by the Tomsk Oblast Soviet and specialists recruited by it, does.

[Question] Anatoliy Borisovich, everything that you have just said about the proposals you will take into account with respect to the basic provisions forms the reason for Tomsk making such a decision. But that is not the question that is worrying me at the moment. You mentioned that, in response to the representative decision of the organs of power, the government has prepared a tough decision with respect to Tomsk Oblast. Could you tell us in brief what tough measures the government intends to adopt in Tomsk Oblast in connection with the adoption of such a decision by the Oblast Soviet?

[A. Chubays] First and foremost, if they had expressed their rejection of the program not by refusing to implement it but by making proposals to the Supreme Soviet or the Government to amend it—that would have been natural and normal. But when you decide that the president's Decree is not valid in Tomsk Oblast—that is completely abnormal.

Now something about your document that we have been preparing. We are perfectly well aware of the scale of the government's powers. Item one in the document is a proposal to appeal to the Russian Supreme Soviet to examine this question at its session and determine its attitude to this question.

Item two is a refusal to grant Tomsk Oblast Committee for Property rights to control federal property, leaving these rights vested in the State Committee for the Management of State Property. Your structures will have to work in far tougher conditions because of your position, we must be convinced that this process will work and for that, we need to exert direct pressure.

[S. Filatov] As I understand it, the basic and main condition for normal privatization is the preservation of a single legislative area on the whole territory. If this is not done, there will be chaos and that must be prevented, and in particular, a precedent must not be set. We will have a serious discussion on this subject. I think that we will manage to establish legislative unity on this issue.

I would like to stress two or three aspects.

There really will be a very violent social upheaval when we launch privatization. This upheaval will be just as important and just as dangerous as the price liberalization. And that is why, when launching this program, we must pay utmost attention to the accord of the whole of society. And I would like everyone to devote serious

attention to this issue and to work together: entrepreneurs, cooperative workers, trade unions, and political parties, because confrontation on this issue is always very painful.

Second aspect. As you know, at the moment the program has been ratified only provisionally. In actual fact, the Supreme Soviet will still be working on the state program at the end, or rather at the beginning of March. So we must also prepare ourselves seriously and, if there are some observations to be made, send them to the relevant places in order to make as few mistakes and omissions as possible when ratifying the program.

Third aspect. We have already spoken a bit about this, and you will be able to imagine the full danger of what may happen if we do not observe the common legislation on this question. As soon as some region, city, or rayon, starts a "war," you can assume that the whole program will perish throughout the territory. So, from the very first steps onwards, we will do everything we can to make sure that no precedents are set. The price the whole of society will have to pay if we allow any liberty here is too high. We have to include a second mechanism on the basis of the law—broad glasnost, so that society knows what we are doing, and to eliminate all kinds of rumors which abound everywhere and which agitate society, including both in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Hence the fourth aspect, which is very important for us all—to ensure glasnost in this process.

And the last point—this is a long-term program. It is not a campaign for a month or a year. It is a very long-term program, so we need to gear ourselves to very lengthy and precise work in this respect.

Exploitation of Ruble Stabilization Questioned

PM2602111092 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 92 p 3

[Lev Strzhizhovskiy commentary: "Give Me a 'Cabbage'?"]

[Text] It may surprise the reader to see the word "cabbage" in this quote. But the issue literally is about the "cabbage," or "greenbacks," as U.S. dollars are familiarly dubbed in Russia. Today something seemingly impossible is happening to them. In recent weeks the dollar's exchange rate has fallen by 15-20 percent against the ruble [R]. Clients openly hand over hard currency in savings banks: Meanwhile at exchange counters waiting lines grow longer. At currency auctions, where sales are carried out on a noncash basis, the dollar rate is slowly but steadily falling. Patriotic feeling, so rare these days (but still the ruble's rate is stabilizing), is shared by ordinary citizens and businessmen alike.

A wave of pride has darkened the horizon, and already we are shunning the customary stereotype of looking to see how things are on the other side of the hill. Over "there" everything is the other way around. The dollar is slightly up against its main rival—the German mark. The mark is losing ground for one reason. As the country most closely linked to Russia, Germany is the first to experience the increasing force of our economic tidal wave. What you have is a balance mechanism which has started to see-saw, although according to all the laws of economics the equilibrium of the dollar should be observed on the world exchanges.

The mechanism for stabilizing the ruble rate is clear. The artificial lack of cash plus surplus currency receipts regulate this process. Behind it lies the policy of the Central Bank and the Russian Government. Both elements of this policy are aimed at specific social strata. A progressively impoverished population is forced wherever possible to draw primarily on its savings. And according to expert opinion they have over 5 billion dollars in their hands. Business circles, suffering the burden of taxation and a lack of cash, are increasingly unable to pay production expenses. Life and labor activity do not require dollars, but our very own rubles. Incidentally, this has already happened in Poland and Yugoslavia.

It is a natural process. It would arouse no objections if economics had not been transformed into politics, which at the current stage of reform is particularly dangerous. Of all the results from the new government's first 100 days, one alone stands out: the beginning of the ruble's stabilization. This process which has begun is not only passed off as a decisive factor, but it is also becoming the main political argument attesting to the correctness of the government's activity. "I am convinced that demand for the ruble will increase and prices will stabilize," Vice Premier Ye. Gaydar declared in a televised interview. Speaking last week, President B. Yeltsin stated that he "does not share Gaydar's optimism."

Something that is being evaluated carefully and with restraint in the higher echelons is now the main argument for government functionaries, advisers, and loyal media sources: Since the ruble is doing well, the whole economy must be doing well. Things have even gone as far as predictions that the dollar rate will fall to R30. Wishful thinking!

It is typical that such forecasts are not backed by any further expansions—by figures or well-founded economic statistics resulting from government reforms. What is changing in industry, what are the main trends, and where will they lead? Every question gets the same answer: The ruble is stabilizing, and this means that things are progressing as they should. We heard similar incantations on many occasions in the times of Stalin's five-year plans. And not so long ago the slogan "Catch Up and Overtake" served as the main proof of the correctness of the chosen path.

So let us use the government method, whereby, in response to criticism leveled at the Russian parliament speaker, a group of international experts invited to work in Moscow made a television appearance. They assured us that everything in the government's policy is correct.

But here is the opinion of another expert. Addressing journalists, U.S. Ambassador to Russia R. Strauss said: "I see no grounds to suggest that food will become significantly more plentiful, and I see no signs that production will significantly increase. I see nothing which speaks of an improvement in the supply of energy resources"... So there you have it!

The ruble stabilization which has begun means very little for the economy, and the obvious tendency to use this as a victory chant is unsettling. The two things are incompatible in honest politics. Perhaps we are already witnessing the revival of an old slogan so prevalent throughout our history, only this time with a new addition: "Give me... (this time) a 'cabbage'!"

Pilots' Union Agrees To Talk With Government

OW2602141592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's union of pilots has agreed with Employment Minister Aleksandr Shokhin to set up joint working groups to look into the pilots' demands. According to union leader Alfred Malinovskiy, these demands include a new tariff agreement, wage and pension indexing, recognition of the pilot's profession as an especially hazardous one, etc. The Russian government's readiness to talk things over is inspiring, Malinovskiy told IF's [INTERFAX] reporter. He expressed the hope that the pilots' demands would be met and the general strike scheduled for March 25 would not take place.

Regional Affairs

Mordovan Leader Says Old Autonomies Adequate

MK2602123092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Mordovan President V. Guslyannikov by Vitaliy Portnikov; date and place not given: "Mordova: 'My Mordovan Mother-in-Law Is Indignant at National Question Being Raised;' Mordovan SSR President Vasiliy Guslyannikov Considers Sovereignization of Russian Republics the Work of the Party Nomenklatura"]

[Text] [Portnikov] You are one of the leaders of the Russian republics who supports the signing of an agreement delimiting powers between the republics and the Federation. There are plenty of people who oppose this document, so I would like to ask you to explain your position...

[Guslyannikov] I support this agreement because I was the leader of the "Democratic Russia" movement's republic organization for 18 months and I advocated and still do advocate Russian unity. Some republics which do not want to sign this agreement justify this by saying that their rights will be violated. I do not think that they will be. Moreover, failing to sign this agreement or adopting some kind of sovereignty or even seceding from Russia will cause certain economic difficulties that are even now starting to take their toll within the CIS framework.

[Portnikov] Opponents of the agreement are bringing up political problems...

[Guslyannikov] What autonomy do they lack? If some laws are adopted in Russia, we have the opportunity to adopt others. But the republics which adopt laws that are distinct from Russian laws do not like that. Previously the republics were described as autonomous, they had certain rights, and that was quite enough. All this movement in favor of sovereignizing the republics has come from the party nomenklatura apparatus. It is a throwback to those times. If Russia hawks this idea and the republics insist on their own sovereignty or even secede, that will have a very painful impact on the economy and on the general political mood within the Russian Federation.

[Portnikov] How do you imagine the development of Mordovan statehood?

[Guslyannikov] Our republic does not need any special authorities. The powers that the autonomous formation had are quite sufficient for us to develop our national culture, language, and traditions. If we introduce any economic laws or political elements that differed from Russia they would be designed to cause it to disintegrate, something to which our government and the bulk of our population are opposed. Our republic is after all the only one not to have adopted a Declaration of Sovereignty.

[Portnikov] You are a Russian at the head of a national republic. I would like to ask you about national problems.

[Guslyannikov] As I see it, it is not only the national part of the population, but also we Russians as a whole who are in a disastrous situation...

[Portnikov] I was referring to the question of preserving the small Mordovan people rather than to something global...

[Guslyannikov] The bulk of the population in our republic are Russians. The Mordovan population makes up roughly one-third of the population. But in Russia as a whole they constitute a very small nationality. It was decided to hold a Mordovan people's congress in Saransk on 14 and 15 March attended by representatives of neighboring oblasts and republics and from Finland and Hungary... Newspapers and journals are published in our republic in the national language and there is a national theater. So, there are no obstacles from the Russians, however many would like to accuse us of raising them.

[Portnikov] I am not talking about obstacles, but about helping—help from you as president...

[Guslyannikov] There is now a new minister of culture in our government, a Mordovan. I think that he is making as much effort as possible to prevent national culture, language, and literature from dying. Although there are great difficulties here. After all, much of the population is being assimilated. Even children in Mordovan families have a poor knowledge of their own language.

[Portnikov] Are you not afraid that the Mordovan people's congress will oppose you?

[Guslyannikov] That will be the case, especially since my recent election rivals are organizing this congress. They are trying to play the national card and show that a Russian president in Mordova will pursue an antipeople policy. But that will never happen. Moreover, election figures show that I got 80 percent of the votes in many Mordovan villages in spite of the fact that my rival was a Mordovan. The vote was not for a Russian or a Mordovan, but for a democrat or a representative of the old circles. We will try to ensure that Mordovans do not feel they are treated poorly even if the president is a Russian. There will be no oppression. When we formed a government, directing our attention solely to professional qualities, we had simply no interest in nationality. When I learned that my agriculture deputy is a Mordovan, I said: That is fine.

[Portnikov] How many Mordovans are there in your cabinet?

[Guslyannikov] Roughly one-fourth are Mordovan. I have already been told by higher circles that this is a delicate matter. But I am a young president and I think that I still have time to improve. We will form a body of candidates and replacements, and greater attention will have to be paid to Mordovan representatives.

[Portnikov] Are constitutional decisions possible for this minority?

[Guslyannikov] We have an even higher percentage of Mordovans in our Supreme Soviet than on average throughout the republic because party circles there have worked on its membership. I have some difficulties with the parliament. It was selected from party and Soviet personnel and it was largely a matter of uncontested okrugs. The membership of the Supreme Soviet often resists progressive laws and emasculates them. It is hard for me to work with them.

[Portnikov] I was not referring to the number of deputies, of course, but to some parliamentary mechanism or other mechanism for representation...

[Guslyannikov] To be honest I did not ask myself that question. Is this necessary in our republic? This is assimilation—and the question has not arisen. We have lived together hitherto in harmony, and it is hard to see who is Mordovian and who is Russian. I have a Mordovan mother-in-law, and when she hears that there must be a congress and so on, she gets angry, like many other ordinary Mordovan representatives, that this question is being raised. The main thing is to create equal conditions, and that depends on people wanting to do so. The most important thing is for human rights to be implemented.

Krasnoyarsk Kray To Sue for 1 Billion Rubles

LD2702105392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Interview with R.Kh. Solntsev, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk survival fund, by correspondent Yu. Sysoyev; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Sysoyev] The Krasnoyarsk survival fund, which was set up almost two years ago, has carried out scientific check-ups and put a stop to many departmental projects, including the construction of a gigantic tunnel under the Yenisey for pumping over nuclear waste.

[Solntsev] Here on the table we have a map of the Yenisey. All these red markings along the banks denote radioactive contamination.

[Sysoyev] So, in fact, people cannot live here.

[Solntsev] There, where you see the longest streaks, it means that the norm has been exceeded dozens of times. You see, as we already know from our sad and terrible experience, it is not one-off irradiation that is dangerous—man can survive a high dose of occasional radiation sometimes—but when people have lived here for years, eat fish and swim in this river.... We received this map from geologists who had drawn it up very thoroughly and had measured the radiation along the Yenisey banks three times. Two-and-a-half years ago we learned about another thing as well. It turned out that radioactive waste from atomic stations all over the country had been brought to us and deposited in Atomgrad which is situated near Krasnoyarsk. What will become of these rods? To date, 1,300 units are inserted in that water basin. By the end of this century it will overflow. The zirconium shells, in which uranium is contained, fall apart after 25 to 30 years. And if they fall apart—and the first batch has yet 10 to 15 years—what will happen to this bowl with a terrible solution?

I think it is high time to bring in a 1 billion ruble suit for the benefit of Krasnoyarsk Kray residents for all these diseases and deaths, for the sufferings caused, for the fear to live always beside the barbed wire fence around these grim enterprises.

Omsk 'Initiative' on German Region Endorsed

PM2602115392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report under the "From Our Correspondents and World Agencies" rubric: "Guten Morgen, Azovo!"]

[Text] A German national region will be created on the territory of Omsk Oblast.

This decision was adopted 17 February by the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium, which endorsed an initiative from Omsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. At present 134,000 Germans live on the territory of the oblast's Azovskiy Rayon (rayon center Azovo).

Chita Gold Miners Strike for More Pay

PM2702110692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 24 Feb 92

[Report by A. Bardo from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Now let us turn to an underground story in Chita. Some 70 miners have spent exactly a week underground, refusing to come to the surface.

[Bardo] What happened at the mine with the poetic name The Turrets? Miners have considerable reasons to express their dissatisfaction in such an extreme way.

[Unidentified miner] They pay far less underground than on the surface.

[Bardo] In the miners' opinion, wages can be raised substantially if they operate by the prospecting artel method; you get paid for the amount of metal you produce. That is the strikers' main demand.

[Miner Director A. Cheremukhin] Practically speaking, we simply cannot meet the demands leveled by the miners right now.

[Bardo] Even during the strike a new demand came from the Siberian ore mining depths; to include in the assessment of the bonus a payment for each gram of metal mined and to recalculate the wages for January. This demand was met. The mine is operating but the problem remains. Specialists believe that the gold mining sector as a whole is facing this problem.

Yakutiyan Deputy on Gold Supplies to Republic

OW2702043892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Zoya Kornilova, a deputy from Yakutiya and member of the presidium of the Russian parliament, has told our correspondent that the press reports to the effect that Yakutiya had this year stopped its supplies of gold and jewels were wrong. She explained the disruptions in deliveries by Yakutiya's right to buy gold and jewels from miners and sell them to Russia after grading them.

According to Kornilova, Yakutiyan President Mikhail Nikolayev had never said his republic would suspend its deliveries of gold unless the price for it is doubled. Such statements had been made by employees at gold-mining enterprises.

Kornilova said Yakutiya was not going to leave the Russian Federation but insisted on the signing of a federal treaty "backed up by a concrete government agreement on the division of powers in the economic sphere".

Chechen Minister Denies Terrorists in Georgia

LD2702091992 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy February 26 TASS—A senior Chechen Government official dismissed as deliberate lies aimed at exacerbating relations between Caucasian peoples the reported arrival in Georgia of a terrorist group from Chechen.

Movladiy Udugov, minister of the press and news media, appeared on Groznyy television on Wednesday [26 February] evening with a special statement from President Dzhakhar Dudayev. In it, the president protested what he called provocative reports spread by news media on behalf of the Tbilisi military commandant.

Udugov also said that members of parliament and the Chechen Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued similar protests.

Chechen Republic Agrees To Talk With Moscow

OW2702004492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] An official agreement from the Chechen Republic to hold talks with Russia in Sochi was sent to Moscow Wednesday [26 February], the head of the parliamentary press center of the Chechen Republic Lema Chabayev told "INTERFAX". No date was given for the talks.

Bashkiria Changes Name, Restores State Symbol

LD2602141392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1024 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Participants in the session of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan—The Republic openly strives for conclusion of an equal treaty on the fundamentals of interstate relations between Russian Federation and Bashkortostan. While speaking at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan which opened on February 25, the deputies accused the new Russian Government that a decision on setting up of the CIS had been adopted without any discussion with the republics which make up the Independent States. According to some deputies, the Russian Government hinders purposely a decision of problems which are important for Bashkortostan.

Despite Russian President Yeltsin's consent, a question of allowing the Republic of Bashkortostan to be in

command of 30 percent of all oil and oil products that are produced and processed on its territory is being hampered. According to the deputies, the Russian Government has taken lately a very dangerous position which is similar to that of the former centrist pressure on the republics making up the Russian Federation. The participants in the session of the Supreme Soviet declared that the Republic cannot agree with infringement of its interests, although it does not strive at the breakdown of Russia. Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan, declared that questions of economic sovereignty should not be mixed up with the national question, as the Russian leadership tries to do more often than not.

On February 25, the first day of the session, a law was adopted on a new name for the republic, which will from now on called the Republic of Bashkortostan, instead of the former the Soviet Socialist Republic of Bashkiria. The law on the state flag of the Republic of Bashkortostan restores and establishes as a new state symbol the historical flag of the Bashkir people, which represents a tricolor banner (blue, white and green) with a flower of Kuray (a reed wherefrom the national musical instrument is made) being situated in the center. According to the decree on the state flag of the Republic of Bashkortostan, the blue stands for the color of the skies, for clearness, virtue and beauty of thoughts of the peoples living in the Republic, the white means their peace-loving character, openness and readiness for cooperation, whereas the green stands for freedom and independent life. The seven petals of the flower of Kuray symbolize seven clans of Bashkiria who laid the basis for consolidation of the Republic' peoples on its territory.

Institute Polls Muscovites on Social Issues

PM2702103092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Nugzar Betaneli, director of the Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarianism, under the "Prediction" rubric: "Mirror of February Sentiments"]

[Text] On 20 February the independent Institute of Sociology of Parliamentarianism held its latest weekly poll of Muscovites at the request of the ITA [TELEVISION NEWS AGENCY] program "Itogi." A comparative analysis of the polls (a sample of 1,000 respondents each time) carried out by the institute in January and February has shown that:

Despite February's discussions, rallies, and strikes, patience is evidently the most typical feature of public psychology in the present economic situation in Russia. For the third time this month, polls show that society is seemingly not threatened by the social explosion predicted for the near future by many politicians and experts. Thus, there are now noticeably fewer people who are dissatisfied with their life. At the end of January it was 81 percent; by 20 February it was 68 percent. The number of Muscovites who are now satisfied with life has doubled (from 13 percent in January to 25 percent by 20 February).

In the first 20 days of February, the number of people who have faith in the success of B. Yeltsin's economic policy has increased in comparison with January—from 38 percent to 48 percent.

Compared with the January outbreak of social despair, the number of people who cannot cope with the price liberalization is decreasing for the third week running. In January they were 46 percent, 6 February—39 percent, 13 February—37 percent, and 20 February—33 percent. The following answers were obtained to the question: Have people calmed down about the new prices or do these data need to be reexamined?

	Percentage of those polled
Yes, they have calmed down	54
No, the sociological data need to be reexamined	27
Don't know	19

The opinion that people have calmed down about the prices is shared by every second worker (53 percent) and office worker (53 percent), every second housewife (52 percent), approximately two-thirds of entrepreneurs (70 percent), and one pensioner in three (41 percent.)

At the same time, neither the Russian Government nor we ourselves should be complacent. The people's adaptation to the current prices is of a subjective and psychological nature. Here are their answers to the question: How do you explain the fact that people have calmed down about the prices?

	Percentage of those polled
People have psychologically gotten used to it	34
They have started working more and earning more	11
Life has not become easier, but hope has appeared	11
Life really has become easier	1
Other	1
Do not know or no answer	42

It is worth noting that only 1 percent of Muscovites believe that "life really has become easier for some people." Another point is that the adaptation to "rampant" prices is taking place against a backdrop of two "casualties" of society. Up to 77 percent of pensioners and invalids who do not work are not satisfied with their life, and 55 percent cannot cope with the new prices. However banal this idea may seem, the poor form the social base of the "anti-Yeltsin sentiments." Whereas an average of 38 percent of those polled do not have faith in

the success of B. Yeltsin's economic policy, among those who "are not coping with liberalization" they form a majority—53 percent.

The second "casualty" is our social needs. People really are "tightening their belts" today. Here are the Muscovites' answers to the question: How are you personally managing to resolve your material problems?

	Percentage of those polled
Have reduced all possible expenditure	43
Are not eating as well	27
Have started earning more	25
With the help of the income of other family members and friends	12
Have become involved in entrepreneurship	6
By selling possessions	4
By means of various state subsidies and humanitarian aid	4
Other	7
Do not know	2

One of the sensations of last week which has been extensively commented on by politicians and journalists was the reduction in the dollar's exchange rate. The population's interest in the dollar-ruble exchange rate really does exist, but admittedly, it is not shared by everyone. One in four people are not at all interested in this problem, and only 29 percent were able to state the true value of the dollar at the market rate established by the Russian Central Bank. The interest in the subject of the dollar by the "people at large" is of a rather curious nature: 56 percent "have never had" and "have never seen" a single U.S. dollar, 25 percent have only "seen other people's dollars." Only 17 percent of Muscovites modestly admitted that they have had (or have) any dollars.

People still value freedom of speech, glasnost, and the independence of the press. It emerged that the recent Decree of the Russian President on the Legal and Economic Protection of the Press and State Book Publishing fully meets public expectations. In answer to the question: Should the government give economic support to popular newspapers and periodicals? Seventy-one percent of Muscovites answered in the affirmative, and only 13 percent believe that this should not be done. (16 percent "did not know").

The army also remains a focus of public attention. According to the majority of Muscovites, the army in the CIS should remain unified—68 percent—and it should be apolitical—63 percent. Only 15 percent believe that each state in the CIS has the right to its own army; according to 12 percent, the army should be an autonomous political force in society. There were sharper clashes of opinion on the issue of the army's loyalty to the government: 23 percent of Muscovites believe that in certain situations the army may refuse to be subordinate to the government; 45 percent are convinced that the army is obliged to maintain its loyalty to the government in every situation; and 32 percent did not know.

New Weekly To Emphasize Russian Unity

LD2602130392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] The weekly newspaper FEDERATSIYA was launched in Moscow today. It will write about the national policy of the country's leadership. Its other task is strengthening unity between the peoples. Incidentally, this is the meaning of the word "federation", translated from Latin.

[Begin I. Zalevskaya, FEDERATSIYA editor, recording] It has already been orientated toward using the words ethnic problem as little as possible and demonstrating the national values of the peoples of Russia as much as possible. [end recording] [passage omitted]

International Affairs

Delegation in Iran Seeks Help in Freeing POWs

LD2502051992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Masik, first deputy prime minister of Ukraine, who arrived in Tehran at the head of a Ukrainian delegation, has called on Iran to help free Ukrainian prisoners of war [POWs] in Afganistan. He noted during his meeting with Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani that Iran exercises sufficient influence over the mojahedin to free the POWs. [Video shows Masik talking with Hashemi-Rafsanjani.]

Commentary Views Future Ties With Iran

NC2602172492 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, during his visit to Iran, Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Masik called on Iran to broaden economic relations between the two countries, especially in the fields of oil, natural gas, industry, and technology transfer.

His visit to the Iranian capital shortly after the Iranian foreign minister went to Ukraine shows that exchanges between the two countries are increasing. The reason for the mutual attention is clear; both countries hope to solve their various domestic problems through mutually beneficial economic ties.

Energy sources, oil in particular, are the main topics of discussion. Despite advanced and infrastructurally well developed industries, Ukraine's oil situation is vulnerable. Under the former Soviet Union the issue was resolved relatively simply; the central authorities placing such large quantities of oil and byproducts at the disposal of the united republics that a single economic mechanism answered all their needs.

Ukraine obtained nearly 40 million tonnes of oil from Russia at very low prices on the domestic market, and there was no problem in this connection. Now the situation has changed, Ukraine having to give Russia $6 billion worth of goods for its oil. According to the reliable Moscow weekly (KOMMERSON), this will be difficult for Ukraine. The extraction of oil in Russia will decline for obvious reasons.

It is natural that in such conditions and to cater to its own needs, Moscow is forced to consider exporting oil to a third country in lieu of foreign exchange. A fall in the supply of Russian oil to Ukraine finds the oil shortage already being felt there and in some parts of east Ukraine gasoline supplies stopped last month and urban transport ceased for a while.

This is why Kiev is so interested in obtaining oil from Iran. But what can Ukraine give Iran? Oil is sold against foreign exchange so it should be paid for in foreign currency or traded for some extremely attractive goods or advanced technology. Ukraine is a strong industrial country and can pay for Iranian oil.

Despite this, some observers believe that in addition to nonmilitary goods, Kiev can provide Tehran with military products and technology. All are aware that three of the former Soviet military regions' ammunition and weaponry arsenals are stationed on Ukrainian soil.

Besides, weaponry is not the same as machinery and industrial equipment. Only by paying attention to all the issues, including the interests of Iran and Ukraine's close and distant neighbors who will be involved in the transaction, can weaponry be bought or sold.

It may greatly benefit Iran and Ukraine to broaden their economic relations. They should proceed on the condition that doing so ensures the prosperity of the two peoples and consolidates peace, trust, and stability in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East.

Deputy Prime Minister Visiting Austria

LD2702092892 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 27 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna February 25—Visiting Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Komissarenko met Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock here today. Speaking to journalists after the meeting, Komissarenko said the Commonwealth of Indepedent States represents a mechanism for solving problems through dialogue and is by no means an independent state in itself. The Commonwealth Republics are equal partners and this also concerns Russia, he said.

Following the breakup of the Soviet Union, "there remained several equal brothers who share the USSR's heritage," Komissarenko said. Each member-state of the Commonwealth is a successor to the Soviet Union, including Ukraine which assumed the reponsibility for paying off part of the USSR's foreign debt, and each individual state of the Commonwealth should deal with its own problems.

Any independent state has its own state and economic institutions, including an Army. Therefore, Komissarenko believes all of the Commonwealth Republics should create their own armies. He also noted he could imagine Ukraine's cooperation with NATO. He emphasised Ukraine does not want to be a nuclear power, adding that it intends to diminish drastically the strength of the Armed Forces, but this can be accomplished only in stages.

Mock said after talks that Austria would give assistance to Ukraine in training senior management personnel. In

addition, Ukraine's enterprises need to be modernised and modern technologies be supplied to it.

Mock also said that like Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, he received an official invitation to visit Ukraine.

Sales of Military Equipment to Somalia Halted

LD2202212892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] IMA-Press has reported that the Ukrainian Government has adopted a decision to stop the sale of arms and military equipment to Somalia.

National Affairs

President Establishes Duma, Appoints Advisors

LD2602180992 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] Proceeding from the need to elaborate the main directions and principles of state executive power bodies' activity in issues of domestic and foreign policy and the economic and social development of Ukraine, President Kravchuk has issued a decree on setting up the State Duma of Ukraine. The Ukrainian president is the chairman of the State Duma of Ukraine. The Ukrainian prime minister is the deputy chairman of the State Duma of Ukraine. Boards for issues of economic, scientific-technological, humanitarian, and legal policy are created as part of the State Duma of Ukraine. State advisors of Ukraine give guidance to the boards. The deputy chairman of the State Duma of Ukraine has to submit the draft regulations on the State Duma of Ukraine and propositions with regard to its composition and its organizational and technical provision on 1 March, 1992. Expenses connected with the activity of the State Duma of Ukraine in 1992 will be paid by curtailing the number of state executive power bodies of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian president appointed Oleksandr Serhiyevych Yemelyanov the state advisor of Ukraine for issues of economic policy, Ihor Rafayilovych Yukhnovskyy the state advisor of Ukraine for issues of scientific and technical policy, Mykola Hryhorovych Zhulynskyy the state advisor of Ukraine for issues of humanitarian policy, and Oleksandr Ivanovych Yemets the state advisor of Ukraine for issues of legal policy.

Presidential Decree Reduces Number of Ministries

LD2602153192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has signed a decree on changes in the system of the republic's central bodies of executive power. The institution of state ministers, which has not justified its existence, is being eliminated. The number of ministries is reduced to 26. A reduction in Ukrainian state committees is also envisaged.

Kravchuk Issues Decree on Fuel-Saving Measures

AU2602122392 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No 8 (54), Feb 92 p 2

["Ukrainian Presidential Decree on More Stringent Measures for Saving Fuel and Petroleum Materials in Ukraine's National Economy" issued in Kiev on 17 February]

[Text] In order to ensure, under conditions of acute shortages, better provision of petroleum products for farms and organizations of the agro-industrial complex to enable them to carry out spring field work and to satisfy the needs of other vital areas of production and services granted to the population, I resolve as follows:

1. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers must use petroleum product resources primarily to satisfy the needs of farms and organizations of the agro-industrial complex, first and foremost by means of strengthening the policy of saving fuel and utilizing, if necessary, the transitional reserves of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense.

2. The ministries and departments of Ukraine, the Council of Ministers of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], the executive committees of local councils of people's deputies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations must carry out measures for saving and effectively utilizing available resources. This is necessary to ensure their work in conditions of considerably reduced supplies of oil and petroleum products. Measures to achieve this include the reduction of transporting cargo by cross hauls, long-distance trains, and other unpractical ways, and phasing out of those means of transport that consume too much fuel.

3. The Ukrainian state company "Ukrnaftokhim" ["Ukrainian Oil and Chemistry"] must:

Ensure that crude oil be used as rationally as possible, that its processing be more extensive, and that expenditure be reduced at all stages of the production, storage, transportation, and distribution of petroleum products;

Reduce, during the period between February and May 1992, by 50 percent compared with last year's level, the sales of fuel for use in official automobiles belonging to enterprises, institutions, organizations, and private owners.

4. Ukrainian ministries and departments, the Council of Ministers of the Crimean ASSR, the executive committees of local councils of people's deputies, and budget-financed institutions and organizations must reduce to a minimum the use of official automobiles at all levels of management without exception. Group trips on buses

must be widely used, including servicing official delegations, with the exception of cases specified by the protocol.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Finance and the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs must ensure control over the fulfillment of the above requirements.

Leaders of organs of state administration, institutions, and organizations must be made personally responsible for the rational utilization of official automobiles under conditions of reduced fuel deliveries.

5. The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, in conjunction with the scientific research institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian Academy of Agrarian Sciences, and corresponding departmental scientific research institutes must elaborate, by July 1992, a state program for saving and rationally using fuel and petroleum products. This program must envisage the implementation of the achievements of science and technology toward saving petroleum products, the utilization of effective fuel-saving technologies and equipment, more intensive processing of oil, the use of alternative types of fuel, and the implementation of fuel-saving methods and legal norms that ensure reduced fuel consumption; they must also determine the sources for financing this program.

6. The Ukrainian National Information Agency, the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company of Ukraine, the editorial board of URYADOVYY KURYER, and other mass media must conduct explanatory work on the need to save and rationally use fuel.

7. The decree becomes effective on the day of its signing.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, president of Ukraine

[Issued] 17 February 1992.

Retention of Nuclear Weapons Encouraged

PM2602131192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Feb 92 p 3

[Correspondent Colonel V. Bogdanovskiy report under "Direct Line" rubric: "It Seems That Nuclear Weapons Will Still Come in Useful to Ukraine—That, At Any Rate, Is What They Think in Western Ukraine"]

[Text] Lvov, 24 February—The mass media in the western region of Ukraine are continuing to focus on questions concerned with the formation of Ukrainian armed forces. There is nothing surprising in this. Politicians at various levels regard the army as the structure which will enable an independent state to be built. What kind of army is it to be? If you refer to statements by parliamentarians and the president, their line is unambiguous. The Ukrainian armed forces are a state military structure designed for the armed defense of the republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity against external attack.

Both president and parliamentarians have repeatedly stressed that Ukraine has made the decsion to remove tactical nuclear weapons by this July and strategic nuclear weapons by 1994. Everything seems absolutely clear and precise. However, as the mass media indicate, far from everyone is in agreement with this decision. And not just in the republic, but outside it too.

In particular, Prof. L. Lucuk of the Department of Politics and Economics at Canada's Royal Military School writes unequivocally in the Lvov newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAYINU as follows: "...I have come to the conclusion that Ukraine needs to maintain control over its tactical and strategic weapons." Why? Lucuk maintains that the West is not prepared to guarantee Ukraine's future. While its neighbors—excluding Belarus and Poland—are said to be laying claim to Ukrainian land. If you analyze the articles in ZA VILNU UKRAYINU it is not difficult to see that such opinions are also voiced by citizens of the republic itself.

Some politicians and military men are ready, as we can see, to reject the concept expressed by the parliament and president of Ukraine, while certain others openly describe it as pacifist.

In particular, Lieutenant General V. Stepanov, commander of the Carpathian Military District, insists that nuclear arms reduction be carried out simultaneously rather than unilaterally in every country in the CIS which has them. While Major General of Aviation V. Antonets, commander of Carpathian Military District Aviation, considers that the threat of nuclear war has not been dispelled in the world and that if you renounce nuclear weapons voluntarily you therefore put yourself in a difficult situation.

Space Society Seeks Conversion of Installations

PM2602153392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by correspondent Ilya Tikhomirov: "Ukraine Wants Nuclear-Free-Zone Status"]

[Text] Kiev—To a significant extent this predetermines the world community's attitude toward the republic. For this desire to materialize, it will be necessary, apart from anything else, to get rid of the 176 strategic installations that appeared over the years of the arms race.

Numerous organizations—the Ukrainian Peace Council, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, National Bank, Ukrainian State Committee for Communications, and dozens of others that have become members of the "Ukraine-Space" society—would like to see tourist centers or, for instance, museums made of the former intercontinental nuclear facilities.

An international conference in Dnepropetrovsk, organized on the initiative of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences President B. Ye. Paton, will be a new stage in the implementation of the "Ukraine-Space" program. The

conference will be devoted to issues of the demilitarization of the economy and humanitarian aspects of the program.

Officers' Council Urges Return of Servicemen

OW2602142092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Officers' Council in Ukraine has called for the early return of Ukrainian servicemen to their home republic. It launched a campaign to raise money in compensation for the government expenditures on the project. Over 410,000 Ukrainians with 800,000 family members do their military service outside Ukraine. Defense Minister Col.-Gen. Konstantin Morozov supported the council's call and welcomed the formation at military district headquarters of special groups to facilitate servicemen's return-home.

Twenty-five percent of officers inside the republic refused to pledge allegiance to Ukraine.

Uzen Aviation Division Switches Jurisdiction

PM1902145592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An agreement has been reached under which all the personnel of the Uzen strategic aviation division will come under Ukrainian jurisdiction but will carry out their functions in subordination to its direct superiors in the army and the command of long-range aviation.

Complex Stops Production of Military Goods

OW2702123692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A major defence industry complex in Ukraine - the designing office Yuzhnoye in Dniepropetrovsk and the Yuzhni Engineering Works are stopping the production of military goods in March. The decision was made by a special commission of the Ukrainian cabinet after studying the state of affairs at the designing office and works. The transition to the production of civilian goods places their big staffs possessing unique equipment and technologies in a desperate position. The old orders have been dropped, new ones have not come.

Government Publishes Information on Resolutions

AU2702144892 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No 6 (52), Feb 92 p 5

[Text] In order to stabilize the situation that has taken shape with regard to the provision of foodstuffs and fodder, the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has created a governmental commission for foodstuffs to be headed by O.I. Slyepichev, Ukrainian vice premier. The commission is authorized to discuss and resolve questions of exports and imports of foodstuffs and fodder resources.

In accordance with the governmental resolution, the Ukrainian State Committee for Supervision Of Safe Work in Atomic Power Engineering has been transformed into the State Committee of Ukraine for Nuclear and Radiation Safety (Derzhatomnahlyad of Ukraine). Its main tasks include the elaboration of principles, norms, and rules of safe utilization of nuclear energy and radiation technologies, transportation and storage of nuclear materials and radioactive substances, and disposal of radioactive waste.

In the town of Chernobyl, an interbranch scientific and technological center "Ukryttya" ["Shelter"] has been created on the basis of the now disbanded Comprehensive Expedition of the Atomic Energy Institute imeni I.V. Kurchatov, the corresponding subdivisions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Nuclear Studies Institute, and the production association BNDPIET [expansion not known] (St. Petersburg). This center is subordinated to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Its main task is the accomplishment of design work for transforming the "Ukryttya" facility into a lasting and ecologically safe system.

The Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a resolution on the creation in Kiev of the Ukrainian Academy of Internal Affairs on the basis of the Kiev Higher School of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy and the Kiev branch of the All-Union Institute for Improving the Qualification of Leading Workers of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The government has resolved to create in Kiev the Institute for Training the Cadres of the Ukrainian National Security Service on the basis of the Higher Courses of the former USSR State Security Committee.

A proposal submitted by the enterprises and organizations of the former USSR Ministry of Transport Construction that are situated in Ukraine on the creation of the Ukrainian State Corporation for Transport Construction (Ukrtransbud) was adopted. The working apparatus of the corporation will be situated in Kiev at 3, Vetrov Street.

The Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a resolution on the creation, on the basis of the Ukrainian Republican Department of the USSR Pension Fund, of the Pension Fund of Ukraine with administrations in the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist republic, in oblasts, and in Kiev.

Parliament Begin Works on Privatization Law

LD2502125192 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session continued its work in Kiev yesterday. The deputies discussed and passed a package of legislative acts on taxation, including the Supreme Soviet resolution on the order of putting into effect the taxation law of incomes of enterprises and organizations, the resolution on rates of excise on certain goods, and the law on making alterations and additions to the law on surplus value tax. The Cabinet of Ministers has been instructed to elaborate the draft state budget within the period of one month and present it to the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet resolution on founding diplomatic and consular representations of Ukraine in a number of states was also discussed and adopted at the session. The Foreign Affairs Ministry has been instructed to determine the order and time of opening representations. Next week, the deputies will work in standing commissions on the package of economic laws, particularly, on destatization and privatization and on Ukraine's set of laws on land. The Supreme Soviet plenary sessions will resume on 3 March.

Crimean Parliament Decides on New Name

LD2602181392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1631 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[Text] Simferopol, 26 February (TASS)—The Crimea Republic [Respublika Krym] is what the former Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic will be called henceforward. A decision on this was adopted today at a session of the autonomy's Supreme Soviet.

Discussion continued on the draft constitution of the Crimean Republic, taking into account the numerous remarks and proposals received from the local population. The draft has become shorter by 10 articles, and points regarding the republic's legal status as a state, the citizenship of its inhabitants, mutual relations with other states, and ownership have been clarified.

Russian Radio, TV Restricted in Crimea

LD2602093292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Text] The Ukrainian authorities have adopted a decision on the restriction of television and radio broadcasting in Russian on the territory of the Crimea. The transmission of Russia's Radio and the Mayak radio station has ceased, and Crimea Radio's Russian-language programs have been reduced. This was done despite the fact that 70 percent of the Crimean population is comprised of Russians.

Crimean Tatars Chairman Sends Kravchuk Telegram

LD2702122492 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0100 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] The chairman of the Majlis of the Crimean Tatars, Mustafa Dzhemilev, sent an urgent telegram to the president of Ukraine. It contains a request to set up a commission to investigate facts of selling Crimean lands to the residents of Russia. It is noteworthy that these days many Russian newspapers carry advertisements on the sales of dachas on the Black Sea coast.

Belarus

Kebich on Importance of Russia; Economy

LD2502202292 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Minsk between members of the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry and Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers. However fragile the CIS might appear, the prime minister stressed, anyone who believes that Belarus can separate from Russia is profoundly mistaken. We shall not survive without it. He noted that in January there was an acute slump in production in the republic, registering an 18 percent fall due to the disruption of economic links and shortages of raw materials. Not one of the documents signed is being implemented. In connection with the freeing of prices, an endless spiral of price rises has begun in which the prices of individual items have increased a hundredfold.

Less and less oil is being extracted from Russia and reaching the republic. Ukraine has halted deliveries of vegetable oil, sugar, and feed grain. A dilemma now faces the republic's agriculture, either to reduce the number of cattle or to seek other sources of feed, thus increasing grain growing at the expense of pasture land. In the spring, any free area must be ploughed up and sown for grain.

The Council of Ministers chairman announced that Belarus will open diplomatic missions in Washington, Brussels, Rome, Warsaw, Stockholm, Tel Aviv, and Seoul as soon as possible.

Kebich on Chernobyl Handling, Republican Budget

LD2202222792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1932 GMT 22 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" Section]

[Text] Minsk—We have been deserted by everybody in our handling the aftermath of Chernobyl tragedy, said Prime Minister of Belarus Vyacheslav Kebich. Such was Kebich's characteristic of the reasons for tension in the republican budget, given by him on February 21 at the academic of management under the RB [Republic of Belarus] Council of Ministers. If according to old calculations we needed 17 bln [billion] rubles to eliminate the accident's aftermath, the today's cost of the construction has increased by ten times, he added.

Kebich said that at the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet the republican government intends to present suggestions on partial amendments of the taxation system. It is planned to reconsider this system basing on results of the first quarter year, and the budget permitting, to further decrease the tax rates. This can be defined somewhere at the second half of April, said Kebich.

The prime minister refuted in his speech the accusation of mass media regarding the alleged standoff between the government and the RB Supreme Soviet. Making a reference to the beginning campaign on preparing a referendum of confidence to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the republic, which is possible in the fall, Kebich said: To plunge today's republic into holding a referendum and new elections means to propel it to the abyss of outrage and vacuum of power.

Military Leader Promises Gradual Reorganization

LD2102230392 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 21 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent Leonid Tratsevskiy]

[Text] Minsk, February 21 TASS—Plans to withdraw west and north contingents to the territory of Belarus require corrections, as there are too many soldiers in Belarus, Belarus Military District commander-in-chief Anatoliy Kostenko told his officers at a rally on Friday [21 February]. The district will be reorganised gradually, he said. The district Armed Forces headquarters may be reorganised into Belarussian Defence Ministry headquarters, Kostenko said.

According to Kostenko's judgment, the CIS member-states summit of February 14 brought tangible results for the servicemen and they can now be optimistic about their future.

Head of Security Commission on Creation of Army

LD2702091192 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—Belarus needs a small but highly effective army to ensure its security, Mechislav Grib, head of the Belarussian Parliamentary Commission for National Security and Defence, said.

In an interview with the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Grib said from 0.5 to 0.9 percent of adults should serve in the army, which is expected to employ 90,000 troops. The move also envisages considerable reduction of troops stationed in the republic.

Speaking on the future structure of the Belarussian Armed Forces, Grib stressed that "it won't differ drastically from the structure of the existing Belarussian military district".

He mentioned that the dire economic situation in the Republic will force the Army to refrain from large-scale war games and new purchases of military hardware.

Grib called for the preservation of the single logistics supply of the Armed Forces during the transition period, adding that "in the future, Belarus will support its army by itself".

Military Council To Supervise Materials Export

LD2602134692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1024 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] The Belarussian Military Command [BMC] jointly with traffic militia supervise exports of military hardware to Russia. Material values have lately been exported from the units deployed at the territory of Belarus to other regions of the former USSR in the main in contravention of the documents passed by the republic's Supreme Soviet. Building materials, hardware and equipment are being exported, inter alia, from the formations and units responding to Moscow. As PF was told at the headquarters of the BMC, you can hardly blame the COS [Chief of Staff]—as the orders for the deliveries are handed down from their superiors. But still the BMC shall supervise the exports of material.

Belarus Supreme Soviet holds the Commander of the BMC Colonel-General Anatoliy Kostenko responsible for the material values of the Army units. As PF was told at the BMC, a working group had been set up in the Republic to supervise the material values and their exports. The supervisory group is made up of representatives of almost all the departments and sections of the BMC staff. Traffic militia check-points authorized to inspect military convoys leaving the Republic have been organized on all the roads. If need be, traffic militia officers may detain the cargoes until military experts arrive and examine all the circumstances related to their export. As a result of the group's activities, exports to Russia of material values from an Air Force technical base commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Feodor Gerasymyuk and foodstuffs from the central foodstuffs depot in the town of Orsha have been prevented.

Anticrisis Pact With Troops Ready for Signing

MK2602093492 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Igor Sinyakevich: "Belarus: Belarussian Patriots Do Not Rule Out Aggression from the East. Political Organizations and Leadership of State Organs Ready To Sign Anticrisis Agreement"]

[Text] The Coordinating Council of the Belarussian Association of Servicemen [BAS] has held a plenum. This patriotic movement comprises officers, warrant officers, soldiers on active service, and reserve troops. The BAS considers its main aim to be the patriotic education of servicemen and young people and readiness to defend Belarussian statehood and democracy.

Most of the speeches delivered at the plenum voiced alarm. The report by BAS Chairman Nikolay Statkevich said: "Civil war is very likely in Russia, and there is a threat to Belarus from outside. It is a question of probable processes, but even if there is one chance in 20 of events taking this course, we servicemen must be ready to defend Belarus." Statkevich also said that barricades may have to be erected.

The same idea was voiced in virtually every speech. The statements by Vice President Rutskoy at the congress of Russian patriotic forces were sharply criticized. A serviceman from Kazakhstan said that 39,000 officers from Belarus who are serving outside their homeland are ready to side with the fatherland in the event of Russian aggression against Belarus. "They will get civil war throughout the CIS," the speaker said. The plenum adopted an appeal to Belarus state organs saying: "Political and social tension is growing in the former USSR. At the same time armed forces are becoming increasingly politicized and the likelihood of a military coup is growing... This means that if armed conflicts start in or between these republics, this disaster will befall our territory too... That is why the patriotic movement suggests that an anticrisis agreement be concluded among political parties, movements, trade unions, national-cultural, and social organizations, on the one hand, and representatives of state organs on the other. The aim of the agreement is to coordinate the actions of its participants if a crisis emerges, by which we mean a threat to Belarussian statehood."

During a conversation with a NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent Statkevich said that all political parties and movements, as well as the republic's leaders—Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Premier Kebich—expressed readiness to sign the anticrisis agreement during preliminary consultations. The unofficial date for signing the agreement is early March.

Shushkevich Supports Full Integration Into EC

LD2502045192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1342 GMT 24 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent Tatyana Khryapina]

[Text] Minsk, 24 Feb (TASS)—Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich plans to sign the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and all other CSCE documents during the trip to Finland he embarks upon on 25 February.

"With the signing of these documents," the head of the republic's parliament told a BELTA-TASS correspondent, "Belarus confirms its resolve to be guided by their tenets in its actions as a sovereign and independent state. The republic's entry into the CSCE as a full fledged participant begins a new phase of European regional cooperation and opens up the opportunity for the republic's full integration into pan-European political and economic processes. Our goal is economic and political integration into the EC while preserving and strengthening the CIS for a transitional period."

"Belarus, situated at the crossroads of Europe, can play an important role in the process of gradually closing the gap between CIS member countries and the EC," Stanislav Shushkevich said. "Its capital, which today has

already become the coordinating center of the commonwealth, is prepared to take upon itself the functions of an 'Eastern Brussels,' to be, alongside a number of Central European countries, the transmission link between East and West."

It was reported in the republic's Foreign Ministry that Stanislav Shushkevich will meet Finnish President Mauno Koivisto and discuss matters concerning the further development of bilateral contacts and the need for the speedy establishment of diplomatic relations.

Signs Final Act, Meets Koivisto

OW2702015392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [23 February], Belarussian leader Stanislav Shushkevich met in Helsinki with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto to discuss prospects for establishing diplomatic relations and for broadening cooperation in various fields.

On the same day, Stanislav Shushkevich signed the Helsinki Final Act (on Monday, this document was also signed by the presidents of Moldova, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine).

On Thursday [27 February], Belarussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko is expected to meet with his Finnish counterpart to sign an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Vogel Calls for German-Belarussian Cooperation

LD2702104992 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Text] Minsk, February 25 BELTA-TASS—Speaking at a news briefing after a meeting with Belarussian Legislature Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, Hans-Jochen Vogel, vice-president of the Socialist International and a member of the Bundestag, said: "We want to receive the most extensive information about the state and prospects for bilateral cooperation between our countries so as to boost it along."

The delegation from the Socialist International arrived in Belarus today at the initiative of its president Willy Brandt, the honorary chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany and head of the party's group in the Bundestag.

Vogel pointed out he "took note with great satisfaction that Belarus firmly intends to become a non-nuclear neutral state and withdraw strategic and tactical nuclear weapons from its territory in the near future. This position is very close to ours as Social Democrats, we approve and support it," Vogel emphasised.

Shushkevich said the meeting was very interesting for him and added: "In business terms, our relations with Germany are developing very well."

Procuracy Ends Support for Coup Investigation

LD2302225292 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] The investigative team of the Belarussian procuracy has completed the investigation into the case of support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The procuracy did not establish a conspiracy between the leaders of the Belarussian Communist Party, the communists of the republic, and the participants in the conspiracy. This is the main conclusion of the investigation that was published today in the newspaper RESPUBLIKA, which has started to print the resolution of the procuracy on dropping the criminal case instituted in accordance with evidence related to support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency on the part of some officials in the bodies of power, the administration, and public organizations.

Poll Shows 'Immediate Privatization' Favored

LD2402103992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] In Belarus, 43 percent of people favor immediate privatization, and only 15 people out of 908 respondents categorically opposed it. These are the results of the February poll conducted by the government opinion poll service in 25 localities in Belarus.

Poll Finds Majority Support Remaining in CIS

PM2602163192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report "Based on ITAR-TASS reports" under the "One-Line Cables" rubric: "Belarus: Majority Against Withdrawal From CIS"]

[Text] Some 61 percent of people polled by the Republic of Belarus Government service for studying public opinion came out against Belarus' withdrawal from the CIS. Only 15.7 percent of respondents believe that Belarus must leave the CIS in order to get out of the crisis. The remainder have not yet made up their minds about this problem.

Moldova

Prime Minister Satisfied With Debt Conference

OW2602201892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan Prime Minister expressed his satisfaction with the results of February 25 meeting in Kiev of representatives of republics of the former USSR to discuss the foreign debt.

In an interview with "INTERFAX" Valeriu Muravschi said that he didn't refuse to sign a memorandum concerning the matter at a conference in November of last year, though he did set several conditions. Muravschi said that in order for the memorandum to be carried out the Republics' share of the former USSR's assets must be determined as well as their share in gold reserves and the diamond fund. "We also insist that the potential of the former USSR to export arms be included in its assets", Muravschi said.

The Prime Minister added that his government insists that "the bank handling the payment by each republic of its share of the debt be removed from the jurisdiction of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation and registered under the National Bank of Belarus". Muravschi said that the bank should be controlled by a special interstate committee made up of representatives from each republic of the former USSR and representatives from the G7 nations.

Valeriu Muravschi said that if these conditions are not met the Moldovan government reserves the right to consider the transfer of its share of the debt as well as the assets to another nation of the former USSR.

According to the Prime Minister Moldova's position was well received at the Kiev meeting.

Muravschi declined to comment on the absence of representatives from the Russian Federation at the Kiev meeting, saying only that that is Russia's business.

Defense Minister on Creation of National Army

LD2102190892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1633 GMT 21 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 21 Feb (TASS)— Moldovan Defense Minister Ion Costas has stated that the republican national army will be formed on the basis of the 14th Army stationed on the right bank of the Dnestr River. The military units which are stationed in the Dnestr region and which have been drawn into the conflict by the politicians will be given the special status of an army stationed on the territory of an independent state. They will be withdrawn to Russian territory in one and one-half to two years time.

This agreement, which according to Ion Costas is a preliminary one, was reached at talks in Chisinau with Colonel General Boris Pyankov, deputy defense minister of the Commonwealth of Independent States. According to this scheme, weapons will be shared, with 90 percent kept on the right bank of the river, and only a third of what is on the left bank will remain under the jurisdiction of the republic. Weapons that have already been withdrawn from Moldovan territory are not included in this amount.

May End Up Without Soldiers

OW2702040492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Practically every second Moldovan conscript will enroll in alternative service after the law is passed in the Republic. Already 4700 conscripts have signed up for alternative service in six months time.

According to the law only those unable to serve in the army due to health reasons and religious or pacifist convictions are eligible for alternative service.

The head of the alternative service of the Moldovan government Anton Skurilenko told "INTERFAX" that there is a significant rise in the number of conscripts who prefer alternative service. In view of this the Moldovan Ministry of Defence has every reason to be concerned that its army may be left without soldiers.

Skurilenko said that the number of conscripts for alternative service will be less than 10% in the Spring draft. Each applicant for alternative service will have to firmly state his position.

Army Units To Pass to Republic

LD2602135892 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1024 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Army units deployed in Moldova territory, Pridnestroviye included, are likely to pass under the republic's jurisdiction. A high-ranking officer of Moldova Defense Ministry further stated to PF [POSTFACTUM] that the Republic was planning to sign a treaty with Russia under which certain formations and units of the 14th Army, mainly the Army's command, [words indistinct] and the units of 59th Motorized Infantry Division would report to the Supreme Command of the United Armed Forces of the CIS for a certain period of time only. According to him, a part of the vehicles and equipment of the former Soviet Army shall be privatized and the national Army shall be formed on that basis.

Touching upon the relations with Pridnestrovyie and Gagauzia, the MOD [Ministry of Defense] officer expressed the hope that it would be possible to preserve the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova without resorting to force, but he did not rule out the possibility of using the would-be national Army to resolve conflicts.

Situation With Gagauz, Bulgarians 'Explosive'

OW2402230992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 24 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgiy Tabunschik, head of Moldova's state commission on the problems of the republic's southern districts, has described the situation in southern Moldova as "explosive.

The commission was set up under the Moldovan president's decree in October 1991 to deal with the economic, social and cultural problems of Gagauzes and Bulgarians in southern Moldova.

In his interview for IF [INTERFAX] G. Tabunschik said that "at a time when some politicians in Moldova are pressing for unification with Romania, only a plebiscite on Moldova's independence can rally the people together."

Gagauz, Moldovans Differ on Shooting Incident

MK2602120592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 3

[Aleksandr Tago report: "Moldova: Another Incident in South of Republic. Moldovan and Gagauz Leadership Produce Conflicting Stories"]

[Text] There is a strange kind of logic: Whenever President Mircea Snegur travels outside Moldova there is bloodshed in the republic. This happened during his recent visit to the United States and Canada. A tragic incident occurred 21 February—while the president was en route from Ottawa to Chisinau—in Tarakliyskiy Rayon, in which two Ukrainian citizens from neighboring Odessa Oblast suffered injury. One of them was killed and the other wounded. The Moldovan Republic Press Bureau issued an official statement 23 February. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] story, a "Zhiguli" automobile with an Odessa registration plate failed to stop when asked by Gagauz customs service personnel. They chased the automobile more than 100 km and, having overtaken it near the settlement of Svetlyy in Tarakliyskiy Rayon, they opened fire with their automatic weapons. The result was that the driver was wounded and one of the passengers was killed. An investigation is under way.

Gagauz Prime Minister Stepan Topal denied this story. In an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent, he said in particular: "On the night of 21-22 February a 'Zhiguli' tore through Komrat at high speed followed by a 'Volga.' Gagauz customs personnel were not there that day owing to lack of transport and because some personnel led by the chief of the internal affairs administration had gone to neighboring Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon. No one stopped the speeding vehicles or barred their way, and next morning we learned that there had been an incident in Tarakliyskiy Rayon. On Sunday morning I telephoned Moldovan President Snegur on his return to the republic and told him that this was not our people's doing. I also told Mircea Snegur that Bargudzhi, head of the Gagauz Internal Affairs Administration, and Byukli, deputy government chairman, had gone to the scene to investigate. They met the Moldovan deputy internal affairs minister in Taraklii and agreed that the Gagauz side would do everything it could to help the investigation. To our great regret and amazement, national television carried a report on Sunday from the Moldovan MVD Press Bureau blaming Gagauz customs officers for the incident."

Thus, as usual, the sides are once again presenting mutually exclusive stories. However, this time it will be harder to hide the truth—although the "Volga" has not been found at the scene, there were another two people in the "Zhiguli" in addition to the dead passenger and the injured driver who have yet to say what happened. Ukrainian investigators may quite possibly also be involved in the investigation.

Protocol on Cooperation Signed With Kuwait

OW1902222892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1902 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister of Moldova Valeriu Muravschi and Kuwait's Finance Minister Nasir 'Abdalla al-Ridan signed in Chisinau Wednesday [26 February] a protocol on economic cooperation.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] Al-Ridan noted that the Kuwaiti delegation intends to explore the possibility of investing in the Moldovan economy and jointly financing some of the technical-scientific projects.

Muravschi pointed out that none of the economies can develop normally if it depends only on one source of raw materials. That is why, Muravschi said, the Moldovan leadership is currently searching for an alternative source of fuel.

Kazakhstan

Construction Battalion Mutinies at Cosmodrome

Barracks Set on Fire

LD2602195392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Report from Baykonyr by correspondent A. Gerasimov—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The reports which we have received from Baykonyr are unpleasantly different from those which we are accustomed to receiving. Servicemen of a construction battalion have mutinied in Leninsk. Several hundred people took part in the disturbances. Here are the details:

[Gerasimov] Fire at the cosmodrome is a common thing. Each launch takes place in flames. But two days ago, it was barracks set on fire by construction soldiers that were ablaze. In this way, about 2,000 fixed-term servicemen protested their inhuman living conditions.

[Unidentified young soldier] I came here whole, healthy, unharmed, and now I have been serving here two years and I am going home sick, a cripple.

[Gerasimov] The hungry lads in the remnants of their military uniform, who had not had a bath since last October, moved in the direction of the city of Leninsk and took their demands to the command. Having broken through protective cordons of armed militia and the regular army, several hundred fighters [boyets] of the construction battalion got what they wanted. The medical certification of those who entered the Army by way of a misunderstanding over their white tickets [certificate stating medical unfitness] started today. The troops have been fed and salaries have been paid.

Despite the fact that criminal proceedings have been instituted against the instigators, the majority of the mutineers have been sent home on short leave. This typically army therapy has taken effect. The mutiny has in effect abated.

According to our information, happiness cost four burned barracks, three members of the construction battalion burned alive, 35,000 rubles stolen, and 17 hijacked vehicles. All this, incidentally, has in no way affected the space structures of Baykonyr.

Criminal Proceedings Instituted

LD2602193992 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Report from Alma-Ata by KAZTAG correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] The situation on the whole in the confrontation zone in Baykonyr has been taken under control by the military engineering subunits which arrived this morning. However, full normalization of the situation in the Army unit is yet to be achieved. That is why measures are being undertaken at present on the territory of the unit in order to strengthen the maintanance of order and to restore legality.

Yuriy Khytryn, state counsellor of the Kazakhstan president's apparat, who is at present in the unit which is gripped by the disturbances, has revealed on the telephone that criminal proceedings have been instituted. An investigation has been launched by the republican procuracy. A Kazakhstan government commission is also investigating the causes of these incidents. According to the commission, irrespective of what actually sparked off the clashes, the true reasons lie in the extemely unsatisfactory social and everyday living conditions of the servicemen in the engineering forces, in bullying, and in cases of unfit young men being drafted.

The situation has been very greatly aggravated by the fact that there was not a single Kazakh officer in the unit, which mainly consisted of indigenous servicemen.

Situation Back to Normal

OW2602185892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1316 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to reliable sources, soldiers from the 17,000-strong engineering force servicing the Baykonyr cosmodrome staged a protest action in the Kazakh city of Leninsk on February 24-25.

Several hundred soldiers, mostly Kazakhs, marched on the city center on Monday [24 February] to demand the dismissal of officers who, they claimed, had repeatedly humiliated the junior personnel. They also called for a cardinal improvement of food supplies and for better uniform and tobacco supplies.

The protesters said 300 to 400 servicemen in the Baykonyr Engineering Force must be barred from army service altogether for reasons of poor health officially certified by physicians.

Preliminary reports say 4 barracks caught fire for unknown reasons and 17 cars were stolen during the unrest. Three bodies were later discovered in one of the burnt-up barracks. Two were identified as those of Kazakh servicemen.

The government commission with State Counsel Yuriy Khytryn at the head has been flown to Leninsk to take urgent steps to stabilize the situation. The servicemen with health problems have been sent home together with those soldiers who have served in the engineering force for 18 months and more. All the rest were promised 10-day leaves and better food and tobacco supplies.

At present the situation in Leninsk is back to normal. The city is awaiting the arrival of Lt.-Gen. [Lieutenant

General] Sagadat Nurmagambetov, chairman of Kazakhstan's National-Defense Committee.

It is possible that President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who has just returned to Alma-Ata after an official visit to Pakistan, will help settle the conflict at Baykonyr.

Further Details on Events

PM2702145592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Feb 92 p 3

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin: "Unrest at Military Construction Units. Many of the Soldiers' Demands Are Fair"]

[Text] Leninsk—Over the past few days there has been unrest, resulting in serious consequences, at military construction units carrying out missions at the Baykonyr Space Center. The details of these events were recounted to this KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent by Major of Justice A. Nemkin, deputy military prosecutor at the garrison.

On the night of 23-24 February a large group of military construction workers—around 100 men—took over several trucks and drove to the military commandant's office to release colleagues who were being held their for disciplinary misdemeanors. The guards were forced to fire warning shots.

The lawbreakers then committed other offenses: They tried to rob the depots and burned three barracks. Three corpses were discovered in the aftermath.

A rally involving military construction workers was held at Tyuratam station 24 February. Various demands were made regarding Army service procedure, social, leisure, and other problems. In the opinion of the garrison deputy military prosecutor, who was an eyewitness to some of the events of the past few days, representatives of informal social organizations were present among the military construction workers.

The garrison and military construction unit commanders met with those who took part in the disturbances.

Since 25 February a Kazakh Government Commission headed by Yu. Khitrin, Kazakh state counselor, and a commission headed by Major General [Maj. Gen.] A. Zavyalov have been at work at the Baykonyr Space Center.

This KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent asked Major General A. Zavyalov to make an assessment of what had happened. Here is what he said:

"I consider some of the servicemen's demands to be fair. A decision has already been made to allow a short home leave for 700-800 men with poor health, difficult family circumstances, or who have no work to do [ne zanyaty delom] at their subunits. At our request the Kazakh Government has allocated transport aircraft for those on furlough. During this period we will be trying to resolve the acute everyday problems of the personnel. With the help of the republic's leadership a monetary allowance has already been paid out to the military construction workers. Measures have been taken to improve catering."

According to Maj. Gen. A. Zavyalov, the situation at the Baykonur Space Center's military construction units has stabilized since 26 February.

Nazarbayev Visit to South Asia Viewed, Assessed

'Surprise Visit' to Delhi

PM2602153292 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Nikolay Paklin: "India Counting on Kazakhstan in Opposition to Islamicists: N. Nazarbayev's Surprise Visit to Delhi"]

[Text] Delhi—To many diplomats the report of the Kazakh president's visit to India was a surprise. N. Nazarbayev flew into the Indian capital 21 February.

Initially there was a rumor that the president's plane would stop over just a few hours in Delhi. Subsequently, however, it became known that at the Indian side's insistence the first visit by a leader of independent Kazakhstan to India would last longer than that: The president and his wife will spend two days in Delhi.

The preparation of Nazarbayev's visit followed all the rules of secret diplomacy. The Russian Embassy, which formally at least represents the interests of Commonwealth states in India, was completely excluded from its preparation. Contacts between Alma-Ata and Delhi were conducted directly via India's embassy in Moscow. In December a high ranking Indian diplomat visited the Kazakh capital. A little later an unofficial Indian delegation including a former minister and former secretary of the Indian foreign ministry visited Alma-Ata. The Indian guests did the preliminary work on the economic and cultural agreements between the two countries which are to be signed during Nazarbayev's present visit to Delhi. It is also planned that an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations and opening embassies in Delhi and Alma-Ata respectively will be signed.

In the Indian capital they are attaching great significance to Nazarbayev's visit. India would like to establish close relations with Kazakhstan from the very outset. Indian politicians see Kazakhstan as a future major regional power with considerable economic potential and diverse natural resources. It is important to have relations with it from any viewpoint, Delhi believes.

Indian analysts have come to the conclusion that Kazakhstan is considerably less susceptible to Islamicization than other Central Asian states. They think that Kazakhstan will be a kind of counterweight in the region to fundamentalist Islamic states which are trying to draw

the former Soviet Central Asian republics into their orbit and create a vast Islamic federation. Kazakhstan's policy may also have a perceptible influence on the development of events in and around Afghanistan. Indian diplomats heave learned that Nazarbayev intends to pursue a policy on the Afghan question that is independent of Moscow's, including on aid to the Najibullah government. India, in turn, is interested in preventing Islamic fundamentalists from coming to power in Kabul.

There are tricky questions awaiting Nazarbayev in Delhi too, however. On the eve of his visit members of the influential government consultative committee at the Indian Foreign Ministry raised the question of "covert cooperation in the nuclear sphere between Kazakhstan and Pakistan." According to their information, Pakistan is using "consultations" with Kazakh scientists to advance the "program for the creation of a nuclear weapon" and is obtaining enriched uranium from Kazakhstan. The progovernment NATIONAL HERALD newspaper notes that India "is concerned about relations in the nuclear sphere between Pakistan and Kazakhstan." Will President Nazarbayev succeed in dispelling these concerns in conversations with India's top leaders? The results of the visit will tell.

Visit to Pakistan, Punjab

LD2602110792 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, who has been paying an official visit to Pakistan, yesterday left Lahore for Alma-Ata. He made a one day stop in Lahore, the administrative center of the province of Punjab, on his way home from the Pakistani capital. The president was seen off at Lahore Airport by Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif, the governor and chief minister of the Punjab, and other officials.

ASSOCIATED PRESS News Agency reports from Pakistan that Nursultan Nazarbayev addressed a reception arranged in his honor by the town authorities and public during his stay in Lahore. He stressed the peace-loving foreign policy course of his country and said that Kazakhstan supports the development of friendly relations with all states, regardless of their social or economic structure, ideology, or religious views. Dwelling on the situation now taking shape on the territory of the former USSR, Nursultan Nazarbayev said that his country is aspiring to strengthen the Commonwealth of Independent States and is doing everything possible to preserve the economic links, spiritual values, and strategic aims of all the states that previously made up the Soviet Union.

The president of Kazakhstan expressed profound gratitude to the leadership and people of Pakistan for the warm reception and the sincere oriental hosptality shown to him and his delegation.

Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev arrived back in Alma-Ata yesterday.

Package of Joint Documents Signed With PRC

LD2702055892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kashirov]

[Text] Beijing, 26 Feb (TASS)—The Kazakh Government delegation ended the official part of its visit to the PRC today by signing a sizeable package of joint documents. Kazakh Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko and PRC State Council Premier Li Peng signed the joint Kazakh-Chinese intergovernmental communique. The other eight protocols and agreements, signed by authorized representatives of the two countries, provide for the development of bilateral cooperation on civil aviation, railway and motor transport, the economy, trade, and science and technology. Under an intergovernmental agreement on commodity credits, Kazakhstan will get from the PRC different goods and equipment worth 30 million yuans in 1993-1995. Some of the documents signed are devoted to consular relations, the setting up of border checkpoints, and the exchange of visits between Chinese and Kazakh citizens. A special agreement provides for opening a network of Chinese shops on Kazakh territory.

"Never before in the history of Chinese-Kazakh relations have we signed such a large number of documents as we did today. This testifies to the beginning of a new phase in relations between our two countries, and I am certain that all accords will be successfully translated into life," PRC State Council Premier Li Peng said after the documents were signed.

S.A. Tereshchenko and the officials accompanying him today met and had friendly conversations with PRC President Yang Shangkun in the Great Hall of the People and with Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, in the "Chunnanhai" government residence. The Kazakh visitors and the PRC's supreme leaders familiarized one another with the political and economic situation in their countries and spoke in favor of further strengthening the friendly ties and mutually useful broad cooperation between Kazakhstan and the PRC. S.A. Tereshchenko noted the importance of the exchange of experience between the two neighboring states in the economic and social spheres and displayed great interest in the economic reforms being carried out by PRC and in its policy of external openness.

S.A. Tereshchenko told a news conference for Chinese and foreign journalists in the Great Hall of the People today that the government delegation he leads attaches very great importance to its current visit to the PRC. "The two major states," he said, "must live in peace, friendship, and with good-neighborly relations."

Answering numerous questions from Western correspondents concerning nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan, S.A. Tereshchenko said that the problem of nuclear weapons deployed in Kazakhstan was not touched upon in Beijing. He recalled that his republic's stand on this

problem has been repeatedly and clearly set forth by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. The Republic of Kazakhstan is ready to sign all documents on nuclear nonproliferation. The Kazakh president last year issued a decree banning all nuclear weapons tests at the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site, which were carried out there without the Kazakh people's knowledge for over 40 years.

The Kazakh Government delegation later left Beijing for Dalian, a major port and industrial center in the northeastern PRC.

Negative Reaction to Privatization Reported

OW2702062892 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Report by V. Glukhovtsev; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] Wide scale privatization has begun in Kazakhstan, and our correspondent Viktor Glukhovtsev explains what results are being achieved. [Begin recording] [Glukhovtsev] Up to two or three months ago, a literal flood of vehicles came through the gates of the Alma Ata Oblast Agropromtekhnika Base from early morning on. Some brought in agricultural equipment, station track, and building materials; others distributed it to the Semirechye solkhozes and kolkhozes in routine delivery runs. As a rule, these goods are urgent and do not remain stored at the base for long. In light of our deficits, everything is snatched up. However, today the gates are empty. As you can see, the base is full with an incalculable quantity of goods—approximately 100 million rubles worth, by rough calculation. The cement storage elevator is crammed to capacity. Thousands of cubic meters of timber await their consumers. So what is the problem? I will tell you.

The base transport shop, consisting of nearly a hundred vehicles which were involved in the transport of goods, has been privatized. It was privatized by its management, contrary to the opinion of the labor collective, thus wrecking the sole means of supply to agricultural enterprises; the privatizers demanded such exhorbitant prices from the oblast base for transportation of goods, that transportation could only be afforded by the wealthy. The economic crime of such privatization is that it not only affects the destiny of the base collective—the sovkhozes and the kolkhozes—but also many of the drivers at the transport shop. Dozens of cement trucks, goods trucks, and buses are standing idle due to a lack of clients because of such prices.

I would like you to tell me what this sort of privatization has brought for you.

[Sholpankulov] Such privatization has brought us misfortune. We are now living in poverty due to the absence of transport. At present we have nearly a thousand tonnes of cement, more than 2,000 tonnes of coal, and nearly 2,000 tonnes of timber, but there is nothing on which to transport it to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

[Baliyev] Our losses will be somewhere in the region exceeding a million rubles. Basically, the sovkhozes and the kolkhozes are suffering the most. At the present time, 132 sovkhozes and kolkhozes—132 organizations—are paralyzed.

[Glukhovtsev] The boundless actions of the transport privatizors have painfully affected social matters. The construction of a residential building—in which incidentally the base drivers were to get accomodation—has been halted. The construction of a boiler house and of greenhouses has come to a standstill. Misfortune has surrounded the oblast base from all sides.

The local press has come out in defense of the collective. The city administration chiefs acknowledge the illegality of privatizing the transport shop. However, things have not budged an inch. I would very much like to direct a question to the higher echelons of the republic at this point. Will any one take responsibility for the tied up millions, for the non-delivery of equipment, for the worries of the large labor collective? Or will it all end as usual: There are no guilty parties; the process is in motion, and all losses and miscalculations are part of it. [end recording]

Confrontation 'Purely Criminal in Character'

PM2702141592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Ardayev: "This Was No Movie... Disturbances in Alma-Ata"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Something unimaginable happened on the day in question on Republic Square in the city center in front of the President's Palace: A crowd of youngsters kicked up a fuss, cars were overturned, another car nearby was set alight, and members of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment and militiamen with dogs came...

Terrifying rumors spread around the city: It is a repeat of the memorable events of December 1986, which, by the way, occurred right here on this square, which then bore Brezhnev's name. It should be noted that nearby there was a "Kazakhfilm" camera crew making a movie of the December events.

On the local commercial TV channel that evening the following version was given: During the filming the participants in the crowd scene entered into the role so much that they actually began smashing everything around them and overturned and set light to vehicles parked on the square. It took reinforcements from the law and order department to pacify the "overacting actors."

The next morning B. Sapargaliyev, director of the Republic of Kazakhstan Ministry of Internal Affairs press center, made the following comment on the situation:

"During the day a group of about 20-30 young toughs drove up to the veterinary institute hostel, which is in the city center. They entered the hostel and behaved in pretty determined fashion: They began rushing into rooms and smashing down locked doors—clearly they were looking for someone. This really infuriated the students, most of whom were here after classes. Soon around 100 people gathered and rebuffed the 'guests.' Seeing this development of events the assailants rushed back to their cars and fled. However the students, incensed by the skirmish, set off in pursuit—both by car and on foot.

"They caught up with their attackers in the Republic Square area. A confrontation began in which cars were overturned and set on fire. Militia squads arrived on the scene, dispersed the brawlers, and eight people were detained. The cause of the conflict is now being ascertained. Apparently this was some kind of scrap between opposing groupings. It has also been established that those who broke into the hostel were mainly former sportsmen...

"Therefore," B. Sapargaliyev said, summing up, "the confrontation was purely criminal in character with no political background to it. Nor is there any suggestion of interethnic conflict—both sides were mainly representatives of the same nationality."

At the moment there is no connection between what happened and the shooting of the movie on the square—it is quite probable that this was simply a coincidence. However, there was nothing coincidental about the pained reaction of all the residents of Alma-Ata. The terrible memory of the events of 5 years ago can surface again at any time.

Semipalatinsk Land Returned to Former Owners

PM2602141192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 92 First Edition p 6

[Report from RIKA, ITAR-TASS roundup under "News Item" rubric: "Kazakhstan"]

[Text] The Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site Command, which is to be eliminated in line with a decree by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, has set about handing back to its previous owners land that for four decades was controlled by the USSR Defense Ministry. The so-called buffer lands located between the zone where the weapons of mass destruction were tested and agricultural regions are also being returned. The total area of these lands comes to 870,000 hectares. The lands are being returned to Semipalatinsk, Pavlodar, and Karaganda Oblasts.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev 'Convinced' Ukraine Will Leave CIS

OW2602033192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1807 GMT 25 Feb 92

[From the 26 February "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan said in an interview with INTERFAX that the member states of the CIS had not yet been able to find consensus in economic, humanitarian and other matters. He said he believed that the Commonwealth would only be viable after going through a transition period. But the disintegration of the republics, he said, was an objective process. President Akayev said he was convinced that the Ukraine would leave the CIS.

Partial Monopoly in Agriculture To Be Preserved

LD2002194992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] At the very height of the privatization of state and collective farms, President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev has decided to preserve a partial monopoly in agricultural production until autumn and to bind peasant farms to a state order, reports KYRGYZTAG. A presidential decision sets the level of the state order. It will include 60 percent of all agricultural production. This decision has been made under circumstances in which the usual economic ties have been severed. The agriculture of Kyrgyzstan is the only hope for providing the population with food and industry with raw materials. However, on the eve of spring field work the sector is in a difficult position. In order to get a harvest at least up to last year's level, it has been decided not to upset the usual scheme of economic management in the republic and to carry out privatization in the autumn.

Tajikistan

Nabiyev Stresses Openness to 'Whole World'

OW1902122192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1035 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Rakhman Nabiyev has said Tajikistan's foreign policy will be based on the principles of non-alignment and non-involvement in any blocs. In his interview for the Tajik-language newspaper JURUMKHURIAT (Republic) he said that Tajikistan would respect the UN Charter, the Helsinki agreements, the Paris Charter and other universally recognized documents.

Nabiyev called for Tajikistan's development into an independent state that would be free of Communist, Islamic or any other ideology and unaffected by Western influence, either.

"We will be open to the whole world, and promote economic cooperation with all countries," R. Nabiyev stressed.

Addresses Armed Forces Day Rally

OW2302152292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There are festive gatherings in the streets of the Tajik capital, Dushanbe, today in connection with Armed Forces Day. Servicemen from the Dushanbe garrison are also taking part, and modern weapons have been put on display in one of the city's parks.

Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev and the State Defense Adviser, Major-General Bakhram Rakhmanov, have spoken to servicemen, confirming Tajikistan's stand that the Commonwealth of Independent States should have joint armed forces, not only strategic but also conventional ones. Nabiyev also emphasized that Tajikistan would take all measures, including legislative ones, to guarantee the social, economic, and political rights of officers and soldiers serving on Tajik territory.

Foreign Minister Discusses CIS, Cooperation

AU2602092392 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 92 p 14

[Interview with Tajik Foreign Minister Lakim Kayumov by Dasa Hyklova; place and date not given: "We Can Cooperate Without Moscow's Assistance"]

[Text] [Hyklova] How do you assess the situation within the CIS?

[Kayumov] The situation on the territory of the former Soviet Union is very complicated today. It was a gigantic multinational state with vast differences among individual regions. After 70 years of totalitarian rule, Mikhail Gorbachev launched perestroyka, but he did not think everything through to the end. The creation of the CIS by three republics in Minsk, which was subsequently joined by other republics, was a somewhat rash solution, in my opinion. The next two to three months will be very tense in the CIS, particularly in view of the very complex nature of current economic relations among the republics. If the republics' government officials manage to react flexibly to developments, the situation could be saved. However, some of them have a very narrow view of the issues and are guided by political ambitions. I believe, however, that certain prospects exist and that normal solutions can always be found.

[Hyklova] While Tajikistan was a part of the Soviet Union, it had only limited contacts with its Asian neighbors. Will your republic, now that it has become a sovereign state, be oriented more toward Asia or toward Europe in the future?

[Kayumov] We would like to maintain good relations with everyone. We are very grateful for having been admitted into the CSCE. This membership opens up new horizons to us. The Europeans have scored great successes in their history and we will now be much closer to the gains of your research and development, to new technologies, of which we would naturally like to make reasonable use. We want, and must, cooperate with our direct neighbors as well. They are diverse and it is not that easy. There has been a civil war in Afghanistan for 13 years, another neighbor is Iran. Turkey pursues its own path of development. Personally, I am an advocate of Tajikistan's policy of neutrality. Tajikistan should be a nuclear-free zone and have good relations with as many states as possible.

[Hyklova] Since the Soviet Union's breakup, there have been growing fears of the rising influence of Islam in the Central Asian republics. What is the situation in Tajikistan?

[Kayumov] One billion people in the world subscribe to Islam, 65 million of whom live on the territory of the former Soviet Union. A process of Islamic revival has really started in Central Asia, now that conditions have been created for it. There are many practicing Moslems in Tajikistan, too. I believe, however, that in Tajikistan, as well as in the other Central Asian republics, the government will be based on the civic principle in the future, just as it has up until now.

[Hyklova] What is your view of the possibilities of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Tajikistan?

[Kayumov] The relations that we had were good. We used to export cotton and fruit to Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak shoes, textiles, and other products used to be very popular in Tajikistan. Why should we not carry on this successful trade, this time without Moscow's direct assistance? Czechoslovakia has experts on Central Asian affairs who even speak the Tajik language. We will very gladly welcome trade experts and company representatives to Tajikistan, because possibilities for cooperation exist.

Pakistan Defense Official Arrives for Talks

OW2302152792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Pakistan's First Deputy Defense Minister, Brigadier-General Sultan Habib, has today (February 23) arrived in Tajikistan. In the course of his visit, Sultan Habib will discuss with Tajik leaders the development of

bilateral contacts and will attend the ceremony in connection with the arrival in Tajikistan of a load of humanitarian aid sent in by the Pakistani Armed Forces.

Decree Issued on State-Owned Farm Privatization

LD2602123792 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By TAJIKTA-TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe February 26 TASS—Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev issued a decree on Wednesday [26 February] envisaging that all unprofitable state-owned farms should be privatised.

It is also planned to set a bunch of commodity exchanges, trade houses, joint stock companies and information centres in order to provide the republican agriculture with the necessary goods and equipment. Businessmen and leaseholders are to form an advisory council under the auspices of the Tajik Government.

Turkmenistan

Delegation Visit to Tehran Conference Viewed

Results Assessed

LD2102235192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] What did the Turkmenistan delegation, headed by President Niyazov, bring back with it to Ashkhabad? First of all, it succeeded in reaching agreement with Iran on the laying of a large-diameter pipeline, via which Turkmen gas will be transported to Turkey, across its territory. Within the framework of the Economic Cooperation Organization conference, talks were held between Iran, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan on the joint ecologically acceptable use of the Caspian basin.

Representatives of Russian and Kazakhstan took part in the talks as observers. The Turkmenistan president's report that the republic intends to bring down the dam which 12 years ago cut off the Kara-Bogaz-Gol Gulf from the sea was received with satisfaction. This measure will halt the negative ecological proceses. The participants in the talks reached an agreement on the creation of a Caspian zone of economic cooperation.

Cooperation Document Signed

PM2502143192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 92 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Newsbeat" rubric]

[Text] Turkmenistan has been accepted into the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which already unites Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. A document on cooperation has been signed in Tehran by Turkmen President S. Niyazov.

Republic Not Islamic, Soviet: Secular, Democratic

PM2602150692 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 92 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Avdy Kuliyev by correspondent Mikhayl Volkov; place and date not given: "Reliable Bridge to Foreign Parts"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Turkmenistan—Avdy Kuliyev appeared somehow unexpectedly on the political horizon on returning from diplomatic work at the Union Foreign Ministry. Equally unexpectedly he suddenly became one of the most noticeable figures—something that, in general, hardly anyone had expected of this extremely polite man in a severe suit. With his emergence in Turkmenistan people very soon realized that the Foreign Ministry is not just a signboard on a building in Ashkhabad but a reliable and wide bridge to foreign parts. The minister had just returned from the conference of the Economic Cooperation Organization [ECO] in Tehran, and it was with this that our conversation began.

[Volkov] What aims, in your view, are pursued by Turkmenistan's joining the ECO, together with Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan?

[Kuliyev] As is known, this organization was formed by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. We were invited to the conference. Joining the ECO pursues economic interests above all. It was no coincidence that the discussion at the Tehran conference centered on questions of unified tariffs and taxes on trade. This is very important for us. For we hardly have any lines of communication, except for those that lead to the West via the entire former Union. But goods now go missing there, partners set tough terms, and everyone endeavors to levy inordinate taxes on us. Is this really the path to integration and cooperation? I believe that joining the ECO was timely for us under such conditions.

[Volkov] Do you mean to say that only a tiny window was open to the "new" West, while the gates to the ancient East are wide open?

[Kuliyev] Probably. Our neighbors will help us to construct railroads and highways, and we will transport freight across the Caspian and build air bridges—the fuel situation is not bad in our region. We will construct a gas pipeline to the south. Our neighbors are promising us preferential tariffs and taxes.

I know that there were different opinions of our invitation to Tehran. People tried to fuel passions over the ECO. It is evidently to some people's benefit that our economic difficulties should drag on and that peoples which have a common culture and customs should continue to be separated by an "iron curtain." I must

refute all fabrications about the interpenetration of ideologies. We do not intend to elevate anyone's ideology to the rank of a state ideology, not even the Islamic one, which has roots in our country. We have been in the thrall of ideological dogmas once before, and we see perfectly well what came of that. I believe that the lesson has been learned. Therefore we declare everywhere that Turkmenistan is not an Islamic or a Soviet state but a secular and democratic state.

[Volkov] The way I understand it, Turkmenistan is open to all who will help it to find its feet faster, is it not?

[Kuliyev] Undoubtedly. We in turn are also developing good relations with our neighbors, with western and eastern neighbors.

[Volkov] How is Turkmenistan's emergence in the international arena being greeted?

[Kuliyev] Almost all the world's leading states have recognized us, including the United States. In my view, people in the world know well the nature of our peace-loving, self-possessed people, who even during the extremely difficult years of perestroyka did not once break loose or allow themselves to be drawn into interethnic conflicts, idleness, or demagoguery. A respectful attitude toward others cannot fail to elicit a good reaction in return. This was shown by the recent visit to Ashkhabad by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, who, in my opinion, was very well disposed toward our President Niyazov. A U.S. Embassy will be opened in Ashkhabad.

[Volkov] In which international organizations is Turkmenistan represented?

[Kuliyev] In February we expect to be admitted to the United Nations. We have applied to participate in the Islamic Conference Organization, but, I repeat, our aim is not to Islamicize our state but to cooperate advantageously. If I am to speak of foreign policy priorities, these lie within the framework of the CIS. I believe that the arguing will soon come to an end there and that the new states will get accustomed to each other, but on the principles of equal rights.

Saudi Foreign Minister, Niyazov Make Statements

LD2302113792 Riyadh SPA in Arabic
2356 GMT 22 Feb 92

[Text] Ashkhabad, 22 Feb (SPA)—His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, Saudi foreign minister, has stated that the letter addressed by the custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-Aziz, to His Excellency President Saparmurad Niyazov included an invitation to his excellency to visit the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

In a media statement made in Ashkhabad today, Saturday [22 February], his highness the foreign minister welcomed the announcement of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Turkmenistan.

His highness stressed that the Kingdom, under the leadership of the custodian of the two holy mosques, has focused its attention on cooperation with brothers in the Islamic world. His highness said: As a Muslim country and people, led by the custodian of the two holy mosques, we feel completely linked to Muslims everywhere and to the peoples of this Islamic region which have throughout history supported Islam and Muslims. We express to them our desire and hope to cooperate with them and to establish ties of amity in order for the future of this region to be as prosperous as its past was.

His highness the foreign minister said that during today's talks agreement was reached to exchange expertise in various fields, particularly in the fields of planting seeds and wheat, and desert regions. His highness said: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has experience in these fields.

His highness added, "There is also cooperation in the field of development, as the Kingdom has the ability to provide developmental assistance through the Saudi Development Fund."

His highness pointed out that there is another delegation from the private sector which will discuss the prospects for cooperation and the investment possibilities in various fields in Turkmenistan.

His excellency the foreign minister of the Republic of Turkmenistan, Mr. Avdy Kuliyev, saw very wide prospects for relations of mutual cooperation between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, led by the custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-Aziz, and his excellency President Saparmurad Niyazov, recognizing the historical links between the peoples of the two fraternal countries. He stressed his country's full preparedness to do its utmost to achieve a quick promotion of cooperative relations betweeen the two countries. He expressed, in this regard, the high appreciation of his country, government, and people, for His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal's visit.

On the other hand, he pointed out that his country had submitted an official application to join the Islamic Conference Organization.

Kuwaiti Minister Arrives for Cooperation Talks

LD2702083992 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic
0705 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Kuwaiti Finance Minister Nasir 'Abdallah al-Ridan has arrived in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenistan, at the head of a Kuwaiti friendship, peace, and cooperation delegation. They were received by Turkmen Foreign Minister Avdy Kuliyev.

The delegation was divided into three groups: an economic group chaired by Minister al-Ridan; a political group chaired by Kuwaiti Ambassador to the Netherlands Khalid 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duwaisan; and a scientific group chaired by Dr. Ibrahim al-Sharidah, deputy

director of the Scientific Research Institute. The groups will meet with their Turkmen opposite numbers.

The finance minister held a lengthy meeting with Mr. Charyyev Ata, first deputy prime minister of Turkmenistan, with a group of ministers, experts, and chairmen of State Committees attending. [passage omitted]

The meeting reviewed the fields of cooperation and the possibilities of the [Kuwaiti Development] Fund participating in financing some projects such as a glass factory. The Fund has agreed in principle to participate in this project, provided that technical and economic studies are carried out so the Fund can determine its final stance.

The Kuwaiti Fund agreed to look into financing the preparation of some economic and technical studies of a number of specialized industrial projects. The meeting also included discussion on the investment opportunities in Turkmenistan with the goal of increasing participation in some investment projects.

Minister al-Ridan handed the president a written message from the amir. [passage omitted on the message expressing thanks for Turkmen support during the Iraqi invasion]

In an exclusive interview with KUNA, President Niyazov pointed out that his country's share of the debts of the former Soviet Union is $70 million. He said: "We are ready to pay it back in spite of our current inability to do so and in spite of the fact that we wonder about the nature of this debt—how it was spent and what quarters benefited from it."

He added: "The debts were distributed among the independent states according to their national incomes, but in order to be fair the debts should have been determined very accurately. However, we accept our share of the debt."

Ambassador al-Duwaisan conferred with Turkmen Foreign Minister Avdy Kuliyev and discussed with him the areas of cooperation between the two countries and the desire to establish diplomatic relations between Kuwait and Turkmenistan. [passage omitted]

President Saparmurad Niyazov received Finance Minister Nasir al-Ridan and some members of the Kuwaiti delegation. The meeting was attended by the Turkmen deputy prime minister and other officials. [passage omitted]

Kuwait Ready To Extend Loans

OW2702015492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 26, Kuwaiti Finance Minister Nasir 'Abdallah al-Ridan handed Turkmen president Saparmurad Niyazov a draft agreement on mutual protection of investments.

The Kuwaiti minister also told IF [INTERFAX] that with the Turkmen president he discussed the possibility of extending loans to Turkmenistan and making investments in its economy. This will be done, he said, the moment Turkmenistan prepares documents on specific projects. The minister also added that the talks also dealt with prospects for economic cooperation, particularly in the oil industry, and also in the spheres of research and technology.

Republic Soldiers Transferred to Reserve Forces

LD2702084592 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] Ashkhabad February 26 TASS—The decree of the Turkmen president on transferring to the Reserve soldiers, who are serving on the territory of the republic, and on stationing the soldiers—citizens of Turkmenistan coming from other CIS member states, has come into force. Today the first soldiers transferred to the Reserve left their units.

According to Turkmen Defence Minister Dalatar Kopekov, the ministry is receiving a lot of letters from the soldiers who were called up in Turkmenistan. They appeal for the transfer to their native republic. Most of the letters are from the units deployed in Ukraine and the Transcaucasus region. In order to prevent the soldiers from violating the Army regulations, the Turkmen Government decided to organise the return of the soldiers from those states.

Budget Ratified, Draft Constitution Discussed

LD2102184292 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] The deputies discussed the draft constitution of Turkmenistan at today's session of the republic's Supreme Soviet that took place here. Saparmurad Niyazov, President of Turkmenistan, made a speech and noted that the draft constitution guarantees citizens equal rights and freedoms and ensures civil peace, and national harmony. The session ratified the state budget for the year. The deputies adopted a resolution on the state plan. The drafts on the state flags and the coat of arms of Uzbekistan [as heard] were examined and discussed at the session. The draft law on taking property out of state control and the privatization of property evoked a lively discussion among the deputies. It was adopted with additions and amendments by a majority of votes.

Armenia

President Submits Plan on Karabakh Conflict

LD2602195292 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 26 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan February 26 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan issued a statement to heads of 14 countries today, presenting a new plan to settle the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, the president's press service reported.

Ter-Petrosyan called on the international community, Commonwealth member-states and international organisations to prevent Azerbaijan from setting up its own army, unsettling the balance of forces and using or acquiring Commonwealth weapons. He also urged them to create a mediation mechanism in order to achieve peace in the region.

Turkey, Petrosyan said, should continue to observe neutrality and influence Azerbaijan in order to promote peace and stability in the area. The president promised to influence Nagorno-Karabakh leaders to announce a unilateral 24-hour ceasefire, the moment the Azeri government vows to stop military actions in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Immediately after the ceasefire goes into effect, teams of international observers should arrive in Nagorno-Karabakh, Petrosyan said. Only after this it will be possible to hold talks between the Azeri government and Karabakh authorities on a long-tern settlement.

The Armenian leadership hopes that its new initiative will put an end to hostilities and turn the talks into a practical course, the statement said.

Ter-Petrosyan Interviewed on Nagorno-Karabakh

PM2702123692 Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Feb 92 p 5

[Interview with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan by Renaud Girard in Yerevan; date not given]

[Text] Yerevan—[Girard] What practical aid is Armenia giving to Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Since 1988 and the start of the movement for the defense of Nagorno-Karabakh's rights, our aid has been essentially moral. Thanks to large-scale demonstrations, the Armenians have been able to draw the attention of world public opinion to this question. At the same time, Armenia managed to draw down on itself the repression organized by officials of the former USSR, thus succeeding in ensuring the security of the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh. In the past three years we have added material aid to that. Nagorno-Karabakh's budget is fully financed by Armenia because Azerbaijan, like the USSR, gave it nothing.

[Girard] The Azerbaijanis say that you are also giving it military aid, particularly by sending armed mercenaries.

[Ter-Petrosyan] They ought to provide proof! Have they shown the world even one of those mercenaries? And yet, in May 1991 they took 500 prisoners. There was not one mercenary among them.

[Girard] However, there are Armenians from Armenia fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh....

[Ter-Petrosyan] Of course, but they are people from Nagorno-Karabakh who live in Armenia and have gone to defend their relatives who have stayed in the area. The Armenian state cannot prevent those volunteers from going.

[Girard] Why did Armenia not recognize the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh that was proclaimed after the referendum on self-determination on 10 December 1991?

[Ter-Petrosyan] We want to make every effort to ensure that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is not regarded as a conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is wrong to say that Armenia has territorial claims on Azerbaijan. Nor is it a religious or interethnic conflict. The only real problem is that of self-determination for Nagorno-Karabakh. We will accept any solution provided the population of Nagorno-Karabakh accepts it. That territory has proclaimed its independence. Armenia will help it shoulder that decision. But if we officially recognize the "Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh," we could be accused of interference or even provocation. We are trying to ensure that the international community envisages recognition. We have conducted preliminary talks to that end and we have obtained some promises.

[Girard] From which countries?

[Ter-Petrosyan] You will understand why I cannot tell you any more.

[Girard] And yet, you recognize Azerbaijan's existing borders?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes, we have done that, by signing the documents setting up the CIS and the instruments of our membership of the CSCE. The main thing for us is to secure the presence of international observers in Nagorno-Karabakh to moderate the violence of the Azerbaijani attacks. If Azerbaijan persists in refusing these observers, we will raise the problem of Baku's human rights violations. Our aim would be to place Nagorno-Karabakh under the international community's protection.

[Girard] There is currently a former Red Army garrison in Stepanakert, capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. Are you satisfied with the attitude of the soldiers in that garrison?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes, because it is remaining neutral. Unlike the previous situation! Remember—in April and May 1991, the Soviet Army helped the Azerbaijanis

deport the population of 24 Armenian villages in Nagorno-Karabakh. Now, however, it is the Azerbaijanis who are protesting the maintenance of this presence. For us, this garrison is a stabilizing factor.

[Girard] Are you afraid that Azerbaijan might nationalize the 4th Soviet Army, which is based on its territory, to launch a real war against Armenia?

[Ter-Petrosyan] That danger exists. Azerbaijan is not threatened from any quarter. Its only aim in wishing to nationalize that army is to use force to settle the question of Nagorno-Karabakh to force the Armenian population to leave. From the legal viewpoint, Azerbaijan has not ratified the various documents setting up the CIS: Baku cannot afford such nationalization.

[Girard] Is there currently an Armenian army?

[Ter-Petrosyan] No, we do not have a national army. We only have border guards on the border with Azerbaijan. Our borders with Turkey and Iran are guarded by CIS troops. Our border with Georgia to the north is completely open.

[Girard] Do you plan to set up an army?

[Ter-Petrosyan] No. Armenia should only have a small national guard. We want CIS military contingents installed on our territory. At present, 8,000 soldiers from the former Soviet Army are installed on our territory. There are plans to increase that contingent to 20,000 men—a figure which fully satisfies us. It would be desirable for the CIS to have permanent bases in our country.

[Girard] What role do you think the CIS should play in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict? Have you already discussed this with Boris Yeltsin and Marshal Shaposhnikov?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes, we have discussed it frequently. We both want the intervention of CIS peacekeeping forces. For the time being, the mechanisms for such an intervention do not exist. Most of the CIS states, including Russia and Kazakhstan, are in favor of such peacekeeping forces being formed. But Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan are opposed to it.

[Girard] What about Boris Yeltsin himself?

[Ter-Petrosyan] He is strongly in favor of sending peacekeeping forces to Nagorno-Karabakh. He knows that those forces would not just be useful in the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh but also, possibly, on the Russian Federation's territory. Moscow needs neutral forces to avoid being accused of chauvinism or imperialism. Yeltsin, if he must intervene, wants to do so in a similar way to what the United States did in Kuwait—intervention under the UN banner.

[Girard] When will you establish diplomatic relations with Turkey?

[Ter-Petrosyan] I am sure that we will establish diplomatic relations with Ankara before the summer. The technical questions have already been settled, the agreement in principle has been given in Yerevan and Ankara. On both sides, the press is echoing reservations about the abandonment of preconditions: Some Armenians are demanding Ankara's official recognition of the 1915 genocide, whereas some Turks are demanding that Yerevan officially abandon any idea of a Greater Armenia. But the two capitals agree not to put forward any precondition for the establishment of their diplomatic relations.

[Girard] Does this mean that you do not recognize Turkey's existing borders?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Find me a single official Armenian statement that makes any territorial claim. In this sphere too, by joining the CSCE, we recognized Turkey's existing borders. What is now important is that Armenia and Turkey should establish fruitful commercial, cultural, and scientific relations.... We will be able to discuss political questions later.

[Girard] Do you think that Iran is playing a positive role in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict? Do you think that the Tehran government is really neutral?

[Ter-Petrosyan] So far, we have no evidence to suggest that Turkey and Iran have abandoned their official neutrality. In these two countries, Azerbaijan enjoys the support of certain circles. There are even arms that have reached the Azerbaijanis clandestinely through Turkey. This week, I will meet with the Iranian foreign minister, who will also visit Baku. I appreciate Iran's efforts. If Tehran proposes a just peace plan, we will not reject it.

[Girard] What do you expect from France?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Age-old relations unite us to your country, which has 350,000 French citizens of Armenian origin. The signing of documents with Bernard Kouchner today establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries will enable us to further strengthen these ties. French holds equal place with English as the first foreign language taught in our schools. We need Paris to train our cadres. But we are expecting above all that France use its influence on the international stage to guarantee the conditions of our independence.

[Girard] Are the Armenian authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh not adopting a more extremist attitude than you?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Of course. We have disagreements. The Nagorno-Karabakh leaders do not want to contemplate remaining part of the Azerbaijani entity. This extremism can be explained by the extremism of the Azerbaijanis, who do not want to make any concessions. I have simply repeatedly proposed a return to the previous situation:

an autonomous region within the Republic of Azerbaijan. Just one year ago, the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities agreed with that. But my opinion is not enough: Above all we need the agreement of the populations concerned!

[Girard] Will the Armenian fighters in Nagorno-Karabakh accept the opening of humanitarian corridors proposed by Bernard Kouchner?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Of course. At present Nagorno-Karabakh is being subjected to a total blockade. Stepanakert airport is occupied by the Azerbaijanis. Helicopters are the only means of obtaining supplies.

[Girard] Will the Armenian self-defense militias really accept the passage of humanitarian convoys to the Azerbaijani villages in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes. I can assure you of that.

[Girard] Are we not now witnessing an escalation of the conflict?

[Ter-Petrosyan] There is a real threat. The preliminary talks have been delayed, as has the formation of peacekeeping forces. The peace mission, initiated by President Yeltsin and President Nazarbayev on 23 September, has scarcely achieved any results. We are doing all we can to localize the conflict and to prevent it from degenerating into a war between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Parliament Discusses Nagorno-Karabakh Situation

OW2602153092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1316 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Armenian parliament met behind closed doors on Tuesday [25 February] to discuss the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

National defense adviser Ashot Manucharyan, Interior Minister Vano Siragedyan and Defense Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan reported on the course of fighting in the zone of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict.

The meeting did not yield any specific decisions.

Azerbaijan

Fighting Continues on Karabakh-Agdam Border

OW2602211492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Missile attacks on Stepanakert [Khankendy] have become even more fierce, the Lur information center reports. On the night February 25 and on February 26 Stepanakert took 7 volleys, each one of 38 projectiles, from a Grad launcher (BM-21). The city suffered enormous damage. The number of victims is not known because the rubble has not been cleared and the fires have not been put out yet.

After Armenian forces pressed Azeris out of the town of Khodzhaly in the Askeran region, the Azerbaijani armed formations launched another vigorous offensive on Askeran. At the moment, fighting is going on all along Nagorno-Karabakh's eastern border with the Agdam region of Azerbaijan. Lur reports that Armenian forces can hardly check the enemy's advancement.

Meanwhile, in Azerbaijan attacks continue on the CIS units and their equipment is being captured.

In the village of Nasosny, Azeri militants seized arms depots of the Transcaucasian military district. That was the second major seizure of a large depot over the past 48 hours. In the Lenkoran region, Azeris captured a motorized infantry regiment of the former Soviet Army, with all of its military equipment, Lur reports.

The Armenian side believes that the offensive is well-organized and that there is an agreement between the government of Azerbaijan and the CIS military command.

According to Lur, the Azeri authorities have got many of the Azeri officers appointed to the Transcaucasian military district's units, located in Azerbaijan. One sixth of the officers serving in the 4th army are Azeris.

Cease-Fire 'Agreement' Reached

LD2702113192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] Mayak has already issued a report today that the agreement on a three-day cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh was due to come into effect at 0900 [0600 GMT]. The agreement had been achieved in connection with the arrival of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. We have just been in touch with the permanent missions of Azerbaijan and Armenia in Moscow. It was confirmed to us at the press center of the Azerbaijani permanent mission that the agreement is being observed. It was reported at the Armenian permanent mission that an offensive of 10 armored vehicles, backed up by four assault helicopters, is under way from the direction of Agdam along the border with Askeranskiy rayon. There are no reports from the Shusha region.

According to a report of the Azerbaijani president's press service, on the evening of 26 February, the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides reached an agreement on a temporary cease-fire in the zone of the Karabakh conflict. The moratorium comes into effect on 27 February at 0900 [0600 GMT] and extends to 0900 on 1 March. The opposing sides embarked on this step at the request of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati who arrived in the Caucasus on a mediatory mission.

Velayati's departure from Baku to Shusha, the main strong point of the Azerbaijani troops in Karabakh, is awaited.

On the evening of 26 February, the Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministry press service rejected a report in the morning of the same day that the town of Khodzhaly, near Khankendy [Stepanakert], had been occupied by Armenian detachments. The press service report points out that, following lengthy fighting, the Azerbaijani self-defense forces beat off an attack from the Armenian side which was carried out with the support of the 366th regiment. The report speaks of only two people being killed on the Azerbaijani side, which contradicts a statement made on the morning of 26 February by Interior Minister Tafik Karilov that about a hundred people were killed during the storming of Khodzhaly. The Internal Affairs Ministry press service report does not say whether the only airport in Khankendy, which is situated in the Khodzhaly area, is under the control of Azerbaijani forces. However, the People's Front press service continues to claim that, according to its sources, Khodzhaly has been completely set on fire and is under the control of Armenian troops.

Armenia: According to a report from Armenian Government troops, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati will be working today in Stepanakert and Shusha, and will fly to Yerevan late in the evening.

Cease-Fire 'Violated'

LD2702112492 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 27 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—The agreement on a 72-hour ceasefire in Nagorno-Karabakh was violated on Thursday [27 February] by a large-scale Azeri offensive on the Armenian town of Askeran and the nearby villages, the press centre of the Nagorno-Karabakh parliament said in a statement.

Units of Azeri National Army advanced for five kilometres into the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Agdam region of Azerbaijan and came close to Askeran. The "Grad" rocket launchers were used during the offensive. Casualties were reported in Askeran. The Azeri Army is also employing a big number of tanks and armoured personnel carriers. Four "MI-24A" combat helicopters supported the offensive and attacked Armenian villages. The Armenian self-defence units are firing in response, the statement said.

Army Units Leave Positions in Khodzhaly

OW2602135592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1113 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to sources in Yerevan, units of the Azerbaijani army left their positions in the city of Khodzhaly in the Askeran District of Nagorno-Karabakh on Tuesday [25 February] night, evacuating the Azeri population in the direction of the city of Agdam near the Karabakhi border. The Armenian units that entered the city found only a few families of Meskhetian Turks left behind.

The sources say the Azeris were compelled to withdraw from Khodzhaly, wherefrom they had continuously shelled the village of Askeran, because of active resistance from the Armenian militants.

Azeri sources have confirmed the fact of the withdrawal but accused the Armenians of "not leaving a corridor" for the city residents to move towards Agdam. According to the Azeri Popular Front, one local resident was killed and seven were wounded in Khodzhaly last night. The city, they say, "is lying in ashes."

Armenians Deny Casualty Claims

OW2602185492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan's Interior Minister Tofik Kerimov has said that Tuesday [25 February] night's attack on the Azeri city of Khodzhaly in Nagorno-Karabakh involved, alongside Armenian militants, tanks from the Stepanakert (Khankendy)-based 366th motorized infantry regiment of the CIS Armed Forces. The attack resulted in the seizure of the city as well as Karabakh's only airport situated nearby.

The interview with the minister was received by IF [INTERFAX] via the press service of the Azeri president.

According to Kerimov, as a result of the attack on Khodzhaly nearly 100 Azeris were killed and over 250 wounded. The fate of some 300 people is unknown.

Armenian sources have refuted the minister's report. They said the Azeris had surrendered the city with practically no resistance. The Armenian units that entered Khodzhaly found the residents gone and only a few families of Meskhetian Turks left behind.

The Armenian sources deny that the seizure of Khodzhaly resulted in considerable casualties, or that servicemen or hardware of the 366th CIS regiment was involved in the fighting.

City 'Has Not Surrendered'

NC2702102792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2000 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs has disclosed that Khodzhaly city was fired on from various directions on the night of 25-26 February. The city was subjected to an intensive attack by many of the enemy's tracked vehicles. The firing and the attack on Khodzhaly city continued throughout the day on 26 February. The airport and several houses and installations were destroyed as a result of the attacks. A number of people

have been wounded. First reports have said that two of the city's residents were killed. The defenders of the city are obstructing the enemy attacks. The situation continues to be tense. Measures are being taken to defend the besieged city. With a view to avoid casualties, the city has been partially evacuated.

But Khodzhaly has not surrendered. The reports that the Armenian brigand groups have captured Khodzhaly city have been circulated by the Armenian sources. These reports are not true. The bandits have been completely removed from Khodzhaly [words indistinct].

Meanwhile, Shusha was subjected to an intensive artillery and rocket attack on the night of 25-26 February. The attack continued during the second half of 26 February. Significant damage has been caused in the city. No information has been received on casualties.

The armed Armenian units also attacked the Karadagly, Kafanly, Seidimly, and [name indistinct] towns in Tertserskiy Rayon from the direction of Agdere Rayon in the mountainous region in Karabakh on the same day. First reports have said that two people have been killed and five others wounded. Meanwhile, the firing on the residential areas in Fizulinskiy Rayon has been continuing since 20 February. Several of the defenders of the towns in the rayon have been wounded.

Agdam Servicemen, Families Released 26 Feb

OW2602205392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On February 26, almost all of the servicemen and members of their families, held as hostages since the Agdam military depot was attacked by Azeri military units, have been released.

The press center of the CIS's allied armed forces informed IF [INTERFAX] that as many as eight families of servicemen and warrant officers had been captured. To date, nothing is known about the whereabouts of Colonel Strebkov, who was in charge of the military depot, and of Captain Bots's family.

The press center also announced that missiles were being hastily taken out of the depot.

Lately, the Azeri side has been using Grad launchers in combat operations.

Meanwhile, on February 25, 20 to 50 armed Azeris attacked the frontier post in the Dzhebrail region of Azerbaijan. The press center of the frontier troops reports that four frontier guards were taken hostage and 14 submachine guns, 1 machine gun and one grenade launcher were seized.

Commentary on 'Tragic Repercussions' of War

NC2602085592 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 24 Feb 92

[Commentary: "The Situation in Karabakh Deteriorates Further"]

[Text] The undeclared war Armenia is waging in our republic in connection with its land claims against Azerbaijan is having tragic repercussions. First of all, the blood of our innocent brethren is being shed in our own homeland. Millions of rubles worth of damage has been caused in the economy of Azerbaijani rayons bordering Armenia.

Armenia has attacked several of these rayons in the last few days. Several CIS military units have joined the Armenian attack. Their objective is obvious: To create a corridor linking Armenia and the mountainous region in Karabakh. Armenian military units and their supporters have acted ferociously in Kubatlinskiy and Lachinskiy Rayons with this purpose in mind. In addition, Armenian military units have fired on, ransacked, and set fire to several Azerbaijani towns, killing many and wounding several.

Although the [words indistinct] in several Azerbaijani rayons, including Kel'badzharskiy and Gorenboyskiy, the situation in these rayons continues to be complex.

Armenia and its supporters have continued to level calumnies against Azerbaijan through (?international) media organs in order to mislead world public opinion. They have spread the accusation that Azerbaijan has attacked Khankendy [Stepanakert] from Shusha with modern arms; that is, with volleys of missiles. At this same time, the most advanced arms are being transported from Armenia to the mountainous region in Karabakh. These arms are later used to fire on several of our cities and towns. The Armenians constantly fire on the towns of Umudly and Surkhavend, the city of Khodzhaly, and several towns in Agdamskiy Rayon from the mountainous region in Karabakh and other Armenian areas. Our enemies and adversaries are well aware that many Azerbaijani towns have been evacuated and burned down. The tragic incidents in the towns of Malybeyli, Kushchular, and Karadagly will be yet another bloody page in the history of the Armenians.

In spite of this grave situation, the self-defense forces of Azerbaijan are retaliating and taking measures to foil the enemies' malicious intentions.

Although factual evidence has been found to prove that Azerbaijani residential areas have been attacked by the 366th regiment in Khankendy several times, the Armenian side and leading officers of the CIS military forces have said that these claims are false. Russian deserters, however, have admitted that most of the officers of the said regiment are Armenians, who do not hesitate to urge the staff officers to join the war.

Under the circumstances—that is, while the future of Azerbaijan is being determined—the continuation of disputes among individual social and political organizations and official organs in Azerbaijan can have very regrettable results. The Azerbaijani people must have only one objective now: To evict the enemy from our territory.

All activities must be subject to this objective. It is regrettable that some individuals try to inspire different views among the people to resolve their own social livelihood complaints and personal problems. They dissociate themselves from the main objective. However, we need to [words indistinct] and consider the future of the people.

In a new development, several official circles in Armenia and members of the Armenian parliament are calling for an official declaration of war against Azerbaijan. In addition, a news bulletin on Moscow television has claimed that the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers have disclosed that Azerbaijan has declared war on the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. Of course, the objective of this approach is obvious. It is to wrest part of our territory. We need to maintain unity in order to obstruct this. Unity, however, is not enough; we must teach the enemy a lesson.

Saudi Minister Builds Ties With Islamic States

LD2402044192 Riyadh Saudi Arabian Kingdom Radio Network in Arabic 2230 GMT 23 Feb 92

[Text] His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, the foreign minister, yesterday began an official visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan as part of the tour His Highness is making of a number of Islamic independent states. His Highness tonight arrived in Baku, the capital, from the Turkmen capital. He was welcomed at the airport by Azerbaijani Deputy Foreign Minister Albert Salamov and a number of officials. The foreign minister issued press statements on his arrival expressing his happiness over visiting the Republic of Azerbaijan and acquainting himself with its dear people. He alluded to the declaration released during His Excellency the Azerbaijani prime minister's visit to the Kingdom establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. He said his visit aims to consolidate these relations and build on them sound foundations through the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries and then build an edifice of relations in the various fields between the two Muslim peoples in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Azerbaijan. His Highness expressed his hope to have a series of useful talks which aim at examining the various prospects for cooperation.

[Riyadh SPA in Arabic at 2300 GMT on 23 February in a similar report adds: "His Royal Highness the Foreign Minister indicated that he will deliver a message from King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, custodian of the two holy mosques, to His Excellency Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov and that the message expresses the hope that relations will be established at all levels between the two countries. His Royal Highness regarded his visit to the Republic of Azerbaijan as a renewal of the historical relations which were interrupted for a while and said: 'This was not desired by the Saudi people nor the Azerbaijani people, and we hope that this renewal of relations between our two peoples will benefit the two countries.' His Royal Highness added that he will visit all the Islamic states which became independent after the collapse of the former Soviet Union. He indicated that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will establish diplomatic relations with all these Islamic states. His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, the foreign minister, on 23 February concluded a two-day official visit to Turkmenistan, during which he delivered a message from King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, the custodian of the two holy mosques, to His Excellency President Saparmurad Niyazov. During that visit, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Turkmenistan was also announced. The two sides also discussed prospects for bilateral cooperation in all fields."

["His Royal Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal said in press statements in Ashkhabad that he was convinced that relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Turkmenistan would see a steady development in all fields. His Royal Highness described the talks he held in that country as constructive and useful. He said: 'We are on the right path for developing these relations in the required way which preserves the interest of the two countries.' His Royal Highness also reviewed the number of fields in which the two sides agreed to expand their cooperation."]

Mutalibov Appoints New Defense Minister

LD2502133192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Text] By decree of Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov, a new defense minister of the republic was appointed on 25 February. It is Major General Takhir Aliyev. His predecessor was removed from his post under pressure from the radical opposition of the Azerbaijan People's Front. The People's Front accused the former defense minister of allegedly hampering the creation of a national army and also of being unable to resolve by military means the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Georgia

Sigua Guarantees Baker Control of Airports

MK2702080692 Moscow MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS in Russian No 9, 26 Feb 92 p 21

[Mikhail Klimov report: "What Good Are Journalists to The People?: Baker Did Not Sob on Sigua's Shoulder"]

[Text] Followers of the Georgian political tradition founded by Zviad Gamsakhurdia took heart. They

believe that American Secretary of State James Baker himself came to his defense.

According to the version of Zviad's followers, Baker performed their version of a "defense" at the Moscow Olympic Penta Hotel where, in the presence of a huge number of journalists, the stern American sobbed on the shoulder of the Republic's new premier, Tengiz Sigua. All he asked of the victor was to restore the rights of the legal president in exchange for political recognition of the state of Georgia.

In actuality, Baker said "his government is concerned about the use of force against the legally elected president", but even more, "the government is concerned by Gamsakhurdia's recent actions." Sigua diplomatically preferred to forget recent U.S. history, the United States not long ago having sent a few infantrymen to "take out" the dictator Noriega. Both sides thus tacitly agreed that both Gamsakhurdia and Noriega are politicians of the same caliber. But then an American journalist intervened in the two statesmen's meeting to ask a tactless question about Sigua's domestic affairs: "Does the republic's leadership agree to restore Gamsakhurdia's rights in return for recognition of Georgia?" Baker, not having advanced conditions connected with Gamsakhurdia before this question, confirmed U.S. recognition of the independence of Georgia. In response, Sigua reported in a restrained manner that during the summer, obviously, there would be elections to a new parliament that will decide Zviad's fate. But for some provincials from Tbilisi, this was enough to reinforce the illusion of Gamsakhurdia's political immortality.

True, it was first and foremost the economic basis of the talks that concerned the much larger portion of the population. The talks were the first large-scale success after the new leadership's military action. The action promises food dividends from the U.S. side. Sigua guaranteed Baker full control over Georgian airports and the safety of air travel from the Republic. According to the premier, Baker gave instructions during his stay to his aides to carry out the necessary work connected with lending aid to Georgia. James Baker also transparently noted that he had been in all the capitals of the former socialist republics except for Tbilisi.

So now, one part of the Republic's population awaits his visit and the other, as before, awaits the return of Zviad Gamsakhurdia who, in his own words, "is in exile, but on a friendly visit to Groznyy," from where he also leads the new 1992 model of Georgian resistance.

Sigua Interviewed on Current Situation

LD2602230592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Feb 92

[Video report from Georgia by correspondent M. Shavgulidze, including interview with provisional government head T. Sigua—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Sigua, head of the Georgian provisional government, will meet Adzimbe, chairman of the Abkhazian parliament, in the next few days. A further meeting of Gamsakhurdia's supporters took place in Sukhumi, the capital of this autonomous republic, yesterday. The sit-down strike of students, who are demanding the resignation of the Georgian provisional government, continues into its seventh day. And here is an assessment of the situation in Georgia by Sigua himself.

[Shavgulidze] 25 February has been a holiday for us for 68 years, a festival of the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia. Today, a grave economic legacy remains from that power. For the people things are difficult, but still there is an outburst of political terror and crime. How do you see the way out of the situation which has been created?

[T. Sigua] Gamsakhurdia's supporters are continuing to cause destabilization in both the political and economic life of the republic. Gamsakhurdia's supporters are preparing a rally in Privokzalnaya Square. But the fact of the matter is that life in the republic is gradually settling down. Life in the provincial areas is in the main returning to normal. In fact, over this past month we have been able to carry out a number of real economic reforms, in particular we have embarked on implementing land reform. For the first time in the past 70 years land is being handed over to those who work it. Moreover, we have already set out on the practical implementation of privatization of the state housing fund. By the end of the year a considerable proportion of state property will have been handed over to the private sector.

In our view, in approximately one and a half to two years time, we will be able to rescue the republic's economy from the disastrous situation and gradually put it back on its feet.

'New Spiral' in South Ossetia Violence Begins

LD2602213792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [video shows armored vehicles negotiating snow-covered mountain roads] These pictures, which were taken in South Ossetia exactly a year ago, still truly reflect today's realities. Nothing has changed in South Ossetia's position since then—except that the delivery of foodstuffs to blockaded Tskhinvali was then accompanied by internal troops' armored vehicles, and now it has ceased completely. The only road from the north, the Transcaucasus Road, has been closed by huge snow avalanches for two weeks, completely cutting off South Ossetia from the rest of the country. [video shows shell-damaged buildings, barricaded streets]

Judging from the latest news from Tskhinvali, a new spiral in the escalation of violence began yesterday. For the first time since the new leadership came to power in Georgia, the town was subjected to massive shelling from Georgian villages by anti-aircraft weapons, uncontrolled rocket shells [nurs], and large-calibre machineguns. Among the dead is a 19 year-old private, (Teterich), and among the wounded are three children under the age of two.

How does all this tie in with the Georgian leadership's statements about the need for talks, especially after the Supreme Soviet of South Ossetia stressed in its statement: We support the the Georgian provisonal government in its struggle against nazism, and although it has not yet been elected by the people we agree to hold talks with them. Perhaps the official authorities are acting on their own behalf while the armed Georgian formations around Tskhinvali are continuing to conduct their own policy.

Gamsakhurdia Has Not Arrived From Chechen

OW2602202192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1635 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The question of the transfer of military technology and weapons developed by the Georgian army "is being considered and will most likely be approved", the head of the information department of the Caucasian military district General Vasiliy Belchenko said at a press conference in Tbilisi February 26. However, the army has no takers at present.

Commenting on the rumor that ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia flew to Georgia following his talks in Groznyy, Belchenko said that in the past 3-4 days no airplanes from the Chechen capital have landed in Georgia.

Post-Gamsakhurdia Political Scene Viewed

PM2602164192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 92 p 2

[Report by Viktor Sitnikov of FAKT News Agency: "Awaiting a Miracle. Two Months Without Gamsakhurdia"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The intensity of passions has begun gradually to subside. A relative lull has set in in the capital, and I would like to believe that life is returning to normal. The Republic and Station Squares beloved of rally participants lie empty, the walls have been cleared of leaflets over two Saturdays of voluntary work, while people are now accustomed to the nighttime shooting.

Acting Prime Minister T. Sigua has to resolve vitally important problems. In the space of two months Sigua has managed to do much of what Gamsakhurdia had only planned. Higher educational institutions have become autonomous, privatization has begun, a plan of land reform has been drawn up, the press and television have been liberalized, and the 1921 constitution will be brought into force in a few days' time. Most importantly, the self-blockade implemented by Gamsakhurdia has been "lifted."

This step has elicited a good response. So far 24 states have recognized Georgia de facto and established diplomatic relations with it. A treaty on economic cooperation with Russia and other CIS republics is at the signing stage.

In Georgia itself the attitude toward the new leadership is ambivalent. Some people promise the collapse of the policy that has been started, others hope for Gamsakhurdia's return, some are simply waiting. There is quite noticeable friction and disagreement among the parties and trends involved in overthrowing the president. Following the example of the "Charter-91" faction headed by T. Paatashvili, one of Gamsakhurdia's most ardent opponents, some people are setting themselves up in opposition to the provisional government.

N. Natadze, leader of the People's Front, is categorical: "Contact with Russia and the CIS is contact with imperial forces." As usual, the National Independence Party headed by I. Tsereteli is intransigent. To complete the picture, it is worth adding that the monarchists intend to reinstate the rights of the dynasty of heirs to the Georgian throne. The population too is not indifferent to the way the portfolios will be distributed. A poll has shown that the majority prefer Shevardnadze.

An exacerbation of Abkhaz-Georgian relations has miraculously been avoided. Ioseliani and Kitovani have begun withdrawing their subunits.

The South Ossetia problem also remains at the center of attention. After disputes and debates they have agreed to begin talks through the mediation of the military. The Ossetian side is demanding from Georgia an official invitation to a dialogue, the unblocking of the railroads, the supply of electricity, and the presence of observers either from abroad or from Russia.

The republic's economy is going through a profound crisis. The Council of Ministers is working at full stretch. But the counters in the stores are empty. There is no sugar or butter, and there are interruptions in the water supply. Light and gas are turned off. According to economists' estimates, the republic will initially require $300-350 million to find its way out of the situation.

So people live on hopes alone—hopes that Shevardnadze will come...

Personnel Attacked, Garrisons Under Siege

PM2602114192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Captain Second Rank V. Pasyakin "From Black Sea Fleet": "Thefts Continue in Poti; Bandit Stopped by Bullet"]

[Text] Admiral Igor Kasatonov, commander in chief of the Black Sea Fleet, has visited Poti and the Meria Military Garrison with a group of officers of the Fleet's leading personnel. He had the following to say about the situation in the region:

"The situation in the city and region remains difficult and dangerous. Rallies are being held here in support of the former president of Georgia. Bandit attacks on military installations and thefts of fleet property continue. Brigade headquarters is reminiscent of a fortress under siege, with sandbags and barbed wire. Officers, warrant officers, sailors, and petty officers wear steel helmets and flak jackets and carry assault rifles. They are in a state of constant readiness around the clock to repulse attacks. It is clear how difficult it is to carry out your official duties in such a situation. We have taken a series of measures, including organizational ones, to impose order and improve the provision and living conditions of the servicemen. We are planning a personnel redeployment that will reinforce the rear services echelon..."

I telephoned Poti.

"Bandit attacks on military installations, including attacks on servicemen, with intent to steal and to seize weapons show no sign of abating," Captain Second Rank Vasiliy Kishchin, brigade commander, told me. "Captain Third Rank Aleksandr Kuznetsov was recently the victim of such an attack. In self-defense he shot dead one of the thieves. All this clearly does nothing to increase optimism or promote good-neighborly relations with the local inhabitants."

A few words about the evacuation of servicemen's families from the Poti Garrison. The Krymskiy Komsomolets, a large amphibious warfare ship that has taken out 189 people, has been specially assigned for this purpose. The evacuees included servicemen plus members of their families, workers and employees of the garrisons of Poti and Meria, border troops, and Transcaucasus servicemen...

Defense Minister on National Army

LD2602131192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Feb 92

[Studio interview with Georgian Defense Minister Levan Levanovich Sharashelidze by unidentifed correspondent; in Moscow on the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] The situation in the Republic of Georgia has attracted and continues to attract the attention of observers and of all of us. It is with pleasure that I now want to introduce you to Georgia's defense minister, who is the studio guest of the "Utro" program. Good morning to you, and welcome. I ought to say that you would appear to be the first defense minister who has been an "Utro" studio guest for a very long time.

[Sharashelidze] Good morning. I am grateful to the program for finding it possible to invite me. I am willing to answer your questions.

[Correspondent] Levan Levanovich, I have great respect for the provisional government of the Republic of Georgia and for you as a representative of the government of the Republic of Georgia, but let's mention the fact that there is also in existence—de facto and even de jure—a president of the Republic of Georgia, legally elected. This situation raises a lot of questions in people's minds. How do you see the current situation in Georgia, in view of the fact that there is both a president and an provisional government of Georgia?

[Sharashelidze] There is effectively no president. Perhaps there is one in physical terms. I do not know. Let the lawyers give their interpretation as to whether he is juridically the president. The president himself exhausted his own presidency by committing anticonstitutional crimes. His people and the forces of democracy waged a struggle not against the presidential form of government but against the personality, against the individual who found himself in the presidential chair, thanks to a tragic mistake by the people. He himself created a guard which he subsequently betrayed during August. I am not going to talk about everything, things that are known to the public. He established the guard that waged this struggle against his regime, a regime of dictatorship in the worst possible form of authoritarian rule, the form of family dictatorship.

[Correspondent] Excuse me for interrupting you, but the kind of situation is arising in Tbilisi, say—and in particular the main events did take place in Tbilisi— the government house, many people perhaps did come out, say, against Gamsakhurdia, but to what extent is it justified here to overthrow what was after all a legitimate president, in that way, effectively by military means?

[Sharashelidze] We must bear in mind the events that came before this overthrow, as you put it. You know and the public knows that the president himself used arms against the opposition. That happened on 4 September, 2 September. That happened on 20 September. He completely failed to take the opposition into account. He did not understand it at all. He described everything in the opposition as nothing more than Kremlin intrigues, Kremlin agents, so to speak, enemies of the nation, etc. In fact, all of the intelligentsia joined the opposition. All of the intelligentsia.

[Correspondent] Very briefly, before we go over to army issues, very briefly, do you see any future for Gamsakhurdia in the political life of Georgia?

[Sharashelidze] I do not see any future for him in the political life of Georgia. He does have that possibility, if he is acquitted. Charges are going to be brought against him in the very near future by the procurator general because a legal assessment is being given. Those who put their hands into the treasury will bear responsibility under the criminal code. Incidentally, the soldiers of the provisional government have not resorted to any repressive measures. Two or three people have been arrested for major crimes, criminal actions. I am thinking of thefts of public funds.

[Correspondent] Let's move on now to the problems of the army, since you are the defense minister. In fact, you are defense minister of an army that does not really exist yet.

[Sharashelidze] Yes.

[Correspondent] You told me in our preliminary chat that the Georgian army is only at the formative stage. But this is the question: Against whom is the Georgian army going to defend Georgia? What aims will Georgia's armed forces have?

[Sharashelidze] It is a question of Georgia already being a sovereign state. Its sovereignty and independence are now going to be confirmed by the parliament which is going to be elected. If I talk about who is going to be defended and against whom, of course it will defend the interests of the people. It is purpose will be first and foremost to prevent any border provocations.

[Correspondent] Provocations by whom?

[Sharashelidze] You know, life is developing. We cannot foresee what is going to happen tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. We have a very long frontier with Turkey. We have a 2,000 kilometer-long border so to speak, with our former friendly Union republics.

[Correspondent] We hope that they are still friendly.

[Sharashelidze] We rule out the possibility of any provocations by Russia. we rule out any provocations by Azerbaijan. But a small army, as an attribute of state, is evidently going to be necessary. We are now dealing with the guard, the guard which is now under a single command will defend the interests of democracy and the constitutional set up. But setting up the army is a matter for the future.

[Correspondent] Troops under the jurisdiction of Russia remain on Georgia's territory. What are relations like between the Government of Georgia and the troops of the Transcaucasus Military District?

[Sharashelidze] Yes, the troops of the Transcaucasus Military District, we have the warmest relations with the troops of the Transcaucasus Military District. Everything that took place in the past under the Gamsakhurdia regime, the insults and accusations, the disrespect of all kinds for the honor and dignity of the servicemen—at every turn one heard the words occupiers go home and so on—all that is now ruled out. We are building our relations in a good way and are doing everything to ensure that the honor and dignity and security of officers, warrant officers and members of their families are protected on our own part, to the extent that we are able.

[Correspondent] Levan Levanovich, one question still remains to conclude our conversation: the Commonwealth of Independent States, on the one hand the group of Slavic states, let's put it that way, and on the other hand the group of Islamic orientated states. What role could Georgia have, although Georgia is not a member of the CIS? What role could Georgia play in this game of patience involving the global interests of the countries?

[Sharashelidze] I think Georgia will build its foreign policy with a view to having the best and most normal, neighborly, relations both with those countries where Christianity is the religion and with those countries which are Islamic in terms of religion, especially in view of the fact, as you have correctly observed, that Georgia occupies a position as a buffer in this world. But I think that we will do everything to prevent any complications. Precipitate actions and mistakes can of course cost us dearly. We will undoubtedly orientate ourselves upon Russia as we did in the past, because there can be no other way. This is true both as far as religion is concerned and on account of our ancient, traditional, friendly ties.

[Correspondent] We, for our own part, will consider that our first meeting with you took place here in Moscow on the air in the "Utro" program. Our time is coming to an end. There are a lot of questions we have not been able to discuss, but once again we will regard this as just a first meeting with the Georgian leadership on our program. We will always take pleasure in inviting you in order to have an opportunity to put our questions directly to the leaders of whatever republic in the present day states. Thank you very much.